

LETTERS AND SPEECHES

OF THE

HON. JOHN F. FITZGERALD

MAYOR OF BOSTON

1906-07, 1910-13



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Boston Transcript

LETTERS AND SPEECHES
OF THE
HONORABLE JOHN F. FITZGERALD,
MAYOR OF BOSTON, 1906-07, 1910-13



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BIGGER AND BETTER BOSTON.

FRANKLIN EXERCISES, JANUARY 17, 1906.

My honored predecessor in his happy introduction has asked me to explain wherein Boston is bigger and better to-day than she was in the time of Franklin. I do not think those of you who have eyes and ears will entertain any doubts as to her tangible growth. The Boston that Franklin knew was planted on three low hills which gave its first name to the peninsula. Dorchester and South Boston were then dotted with farms; Cambridge and Charlestown were aspiring villages the other side of the Charles; a thin strip of land united the town proper with Roxbury, and along this neck, as it was called, three stages a week ran out of the capital of New England, which counted in all some 12,000 souls.

Contrast this picture with the stretch of streets and houses, the glittering panorama visible from Great Blue Hill in early winter evenings, the trains running north, south and west almost every minute of the day, the nightly exodus to the suburbs and the swinging back and forth all day long of the million persons, more or less, who now ply their occupations within our boundaries.

There is no doubt Boston is bigger and busier. I believe, also, that she is better, though not so good as she might be and will be if we all give a little of our strength and enthusiasm towards making her so. Her laws are now framed by free citizens and not by a foreign parliament, owing allegiance to an imbecile king. Her children are well taught, her poor relieved, her sick healed. The blind, the dumb, the crippled, the aged, the insane are not without friends and providers among us. Our works of positive achievement,—our parks, libraries, churches, museums, banks, theaters, shops and factories,—compare favorably with those of any city of

similar age and size. The Boston of to-day encircling its beautiful harbor and reaching back among the hills and rivers of the interior is a monument of human achievement, a great symbol erected by ten generations of builders to bear witness to their labors and to the spirit that ruled them. It is better than the straggling townlet of 200 years ago as fulfillment is better than promise and the ripe fruit and flower superior to the seed.

It is fitting that Boston should commemorate the birth of Franklin, because Boston was the scene of that memorable event. That he did not forget his birth-place and the home of his boyhood is evident from his liberal bequest of funds for the benefit of his former townsmen — one of them long devoted to the award of prize medals in our public schools, the other soon to be consecrated to some great measure of social improvement.

This great benefactor of our city and of his race was one of seventeen children,—the son of a poor soap boiler and himself by occupation a printer. He made the most of his opportunities, perhaps I ought to say he *made* his opportunities, and became rich, wise, powerful and famous. But riches, wisdom and power were merely instruments which he used to benefit his fellow man. He beheld the pomp of courts, the glories and frivolities of London and Versailles with unmoved composure and wore the homespun garments woven by his wife into the presence of ministers and kings. He was our first great democrat, his whole biography a perfect illustration of the simple life.

We do not think of Franklin as a patriot or statesman mainly, although he bore a part second to none but Washington in the creation of our Union. He was delegate to the Continental Congress, minister to Paris throughout the War of Independence, and a member of the convention which framed the Constitution. But he did not owe his reputation to these activities, or to any part which he took in public life or the wars of the young colonies. In the groups of brilliant soldiers and statesmen whom the need of that great hour awakened to high

achievements, he stands a figure apart, calm, reflective and mature. He belonged, in fact, to an earlier generation. In the year of the signing of the Declaration of Independence Franklin was a venerable sage of seventy. Washington himself was but forty-four, Jefferson thirty-three and Hamilton nineteen. The others had their reputations to make. Franklin was already successful in commerce, a household word in literature, renowned throughout two continents in science and invention. And, although he added to the lustre of his fame by his conduct in the trying period that followed, still it is not as a diplomat that he is remembered to-day. We think of him in his more characteristic pursuits, as the inventor of the lightning rod, the founder of a public library, the organizer of a fire department, the industrious experimenter in all directions that promised practical advantage to his fellowmen.

If Franklin were alive to-day it is easy to believe that, with all the changes in our civilization, he would yet devote himself to the same ends and in the same spirit. I doubt if he would strive for that sort of success which puts some men of our day on pinnacles, elevated to such dizzy heights that they seem separate from the rest of humankind. Franklin's nature was social, his ambition involved service. In these days of feverish and reckless speculation the youth of our city could not have a better model than this printer's apprentice who rose out of want by frugality and industry and made himself the third figure in our national history, surpassing even Washington and Lincoln as a philosopher and a practical humanitarian, and falling behind them mainly in the fact that he never knew the responsibilities of leadership before the whole nation. Of them also it might have been written that they took away the sceptre from tyrants, but of Franklin alone it can be said that he drew down the lightning from heaven. He cannot be called, like Washington, first in war or first in the hearts of his countrymen, but he may dispute even with the father of his country himself the honor of being the first American in the arts of peace.

EXPECTATION.

BEFORE MASSACHUSETTS CHARITABLE MECHANIC
ASSOCIATION, MARCH 13, 1906.

GENTLEMEN,— Your toastmaster has told you what the people expect of their elected magistrates. To all that he has said I subscribe most devoutly. The citizens of Boston have chosen me to serve them and I feel bound in honor to labor strenuously and scrupulously for their interests. This, their expectation, is my graven purpose and rooted resolve.

In carrying out that resolve no class of the community can be of more assistance than you, the manufacturers and master mechanics. Among the most vivid recollections of my youth is my annual or, at least, periodic visit to the exhibitions held in this building. Looking back upon them now, I realize more than ever their value as a school for the young, in kindling their ambition and stimulating an interest in applied mechanics and practical invention. They made the useful arts as fascinating as the Arabian Nights' entertainments and revealed the wonderland of progress and experiment that envelopes the plain world of everyday industry. They taught, also, by the silent sermon of the happy mechanic tending his machine a high respect for work. Any live boy, able to appreciate his own box of Christmas tools, could see that men who made things with their hands held an honorable position in society and, if well treated by their employers, were generally happy in their labors. Certainly there is no better model to hold before the eyes of average boyhood than the skilled artisan, ingenious, versatile and productive, and as a rule a good citizen and sterling patriot.

I am here to assure you that Boston understands the important share such men have had in developing and

upholding her prosperity. Our wealth is not in forests, farms or mines, for we have few of these within the city limits. It is in the things we make, sell or ship by land and sea. If you set out a wharf, a railroad station, a store and a mill you will have laid the four cornerstones of our industrial prosperity. Your association represents the application of brains to raw material, so that something — design, quality, texture or what not — is added to it, its substance is refined in some one of a million ways and its value multiplied many times. A rough block of spruce wood becomes a ream of tinted stationery. A ton of pig iron from Pittsburgh goes back transformed into watch springs, needles or steel pens. These magic processes are the miracles of modern science, and the men who discover or apply them bring wealth and credit to the community in which they live. Boston has never lacked such men and never failed to appreciate their worth.

Still, looking over the census of 1900 the other day, I found some evidence which made me think there might be room for greater activity even in manufactures and the mechanic arts in Boston. The capital invested in manufactures in this city was given as \$143,000,000, while that invested in St. Louis was \$162,000,000. In certain lines of manufacture — for example, in musical instruments and in rubber goods — we far surpassed our sister city of nearly equal population, having about \$7,000,000 invested in those industries, while St. Louis has almost nothing. But I could not understand why St. Louis should have \$2,000,000 invested in the manufacture of chemicals, while Boston has only \$132,000, or why she should have \$1,000,000 in leather manufactures, while Boston in the heart of the leather district has only \$104,000. These comparisons and others which might be made suggest that the hour is ripe for a careful scrutiny of our commercial methods and our educational system.

Personally I expect, to return once more to my cue word, that our greatest future development in addi-

tion to our commercial expansion will be in those fields in which the fine arts lend grace and charm to objects of practical utility. I look to see Boston famous for her fabrics, jewelry, bronzes, bookmaking, scientific apparatus, artistic pottery and woodwork, and in other fields that call for preeminent taste and skill. The culture and ingenuity of our people ought to find expression in these forms, and by such development we can easily meet the pressure of competition and maintain our traditional leadership.

It is you, gentlemen, or your colleagues and successors who will realize this expectation of mine. For, after all, my forecast would be an idle dream were it not for the broad foundation you have laid and the spirit you have kept alive for more than a hundred years. I expect, when my hopes are consummated, to see this building, ample as it seems to our present-day imaginations, far outgrown and your membership list swollen so as to tax the industry of your capable secretary and a large corps of assistants. In a word, I prophesy and wish for you all the pleasant embarrassments that accompany rapid expansion and a success beyond expectations. I am willing to accept the vigor of this association so characteristic and representative of the genius of the New England people as a fair measure of the prosperity of Boston.

PUBLIC SPIRIT.

BEFORE COMMITTEE ON METROPOLITAN AFFAIRS,
MARCH 21, 1906.

I trust that the ladies and gentlemen who are opposed to this legislation will show a proper public spirit in connection with this enterprise. I regret to say that I think it has not been shown in the past. Every attempt that has been made to assess damages for betterments along Beacon street, whether it has been in the nature of a sewer assessment or for other purposes, has met with opposition from the Beacon street residents. I do not think that the action of these wealthy, influential and highly educated people has been such as to set a good example to the community. The period of unrest that is manifest in every part of the country is the result of rapacity shown up in court and in legislative proceedings of the wealthy men of the country. It is the persons who have large wealth, education and good circumstances who ought to lead the way and show a proper public spirit. This has not been the case with the Beacon street residents. They have shown a desire in every possible way to escape legitimate taxes and are willing to get all the advantages of the expenditure of large sums of money from the public treasury without making any return whatever. These men and women know that this is not sound ethics. It is graft in its most insidious form. Actions of this kind tend more to the weakening of our public spirit than complete and barefaced thieving. I hope, therefore, gentlemen of the committee, that this matter will be considered with a view to the welfare of the one million two hundred thousand people of the metropolitan district who will be compelled to pay for the improvement which is going to directly benefit two hundred residents of Beacon street. I trust that it will be considered in the larger sense of the welfare of the entire metropolitan district rather than that of a few.

BOSTON'S CHINESE TRADE.

WELCOME TO CHINESE EMISSARIES, APRIL 20, 1906.

MR. CHAIRMAN,— If my recollections of early studies in geography are correct, a shaft sunk through the earth directly under my feet would come out somewhere west of Pekin, in the province governed by our distinguished guest, Commissioner Tai Hung Chi. In other words, the envoys of the Empress of China could scarcely travel farther away from their native land than they are at this moment. Half the circumference of the globe separates them from the kingdom of rice, friends, and bamboo forests, of tea gardens and teeming rivers, which they left a few weeks ago. Whether their course, in leaving us, takes them to the east or to the west, either way they will be headed for home.

Yet, distant as this City of Boston is from China, more than a hundred years ago its merchants and sailors had found a path across the seas to the ancient empire of the East. One of the most romantic episodes in our history was the creation of the Chinese trade, which strengthened the foundations of our commercial prosperity and bred a race of “gentlemen adventurers” of whose enterprise and citizenship their descendants are justly proud.

It was in 1790 that the Boston ship “Columbia” set sail for Cape Horn, visited the Oregon shore on her way to Canton, then the only open port of China, and returned to Boston by way of the Cape of Good Hope, having been the first American vessel to circumnavigate the earth. It was a three years’ voyage, in a little wooden vessel, with mere boys as navigators, through seas infested with pirates and hostile natives, yet, on the whole, as good a course of study and discipline, as

complete a training for the faculties that make men and nations great, as any modern college affords.

As you know, a strong current of trade sprang up between Boston and Canton. Nearly half the commerce between the United States and China, from 1810 to 1840, was in the hands of the Boston house of Bryant & Sturgis. Great family fortunes were founded by the enterprise of those boyish navigators (in whom love of adventure, no doubt, whetted the desire for gain), and the names of Perkins, Forbes, Bromfield, Russell, Derby, Sears, Parkman, Lyman and Low are inseparable from that splendid passage in our history. From China the merchantmen brought tea, silk, nankeen and crêpe. In return they gave specie, ginseng (highly prized in the Orient for its medicinal properties) and the pelts of sea otters captured on the northwest coast of America.

I regret to have to add that this thriving trade was ruined by an act of the Massachusetts Legislature. A tax on the returning cargoes, imposed in arrogant disregard of the protests of the merchants of Boston. It is my earnest hope that some day our distinguished visitors may visit our city again and be witness to our old-time activity in China's trade and commerce.

And so these mariners of Boston who had sailed their vessels to Calcutta and Cronstadt, to California and the Mediterranean, knitted together by their daring voyages the oldest and the youngest civilizations of the earth. Times have changed since the first half of the nineteenth century. The vessels in which these long journeys were made were very different from those in which you, gentlemen, crossed the ocean to honor us with your visit. But the memory of those old commercial relations has not faded out, and I am sure that you cannot visit any part of America in which you will meet a more genuine hospitality and a more sincere interest in the purposes of your investigation. It may be that in the city of Canton there still lingers some

recollection of the white traders who came there and established agencies in the city long ago,— who looked like Englishmen but were particular to explain that they belonged to a different nation. At any rate, we in Boston have not forgotten the benefits of our early Chinese trade. Our city contains many mementos of that period, as well as evidences of our interest in the great and wonderful civilization which you, gentlemen, represent. It was my privilege to accompany you yesterday on your tour of inspection and to note the grave courtesy and the high intelligence of your commentary on what you saw. May the remainder of your journey be as profitable and pleasant as we trust your stay in Boston has been, and may its fruit be a closer knitting of the bonds of friendship and understanding between two great peoples!

HEALTH MEASURES IN BOSTON.

WELCOME TO MEDICAL CONGRESS, JUNE 5, 1906.

GENTLEMEN,— Once more, after an interval of forty-one years, your association holds its convention in Boston, and I, as Mayor, am privileged to throw open to you the gates of our official hospitality. It is indeed a rare privilege to greet the representatives of a profession which renders such universal service and has a personal claim on the good will of every man. Dealing with life itself, and the mysteries of birth and death which envelop it, you develop in your calling the finest virtues of our nature. When we read of the young physicians in Cuba and New Orleans, giving up their lives in experiments designed to trace the source of yellow fever, and when we remember that such instances of heroic sacrifice are the commonplace of medical history, we understand why the title of doctor is everywhere one of dignity and affection.

You come from many states and foreign countries, single-minded in your devotion to a great central idea. I trust that during your stay in Boston you will observe that the government of this city is not uninfluenced by the same idea, but feels its due responsibility for the health of the people. We provide sanitary living conditions, a pure water supply, inspection of milk and vinegar, registration and quarantine of all contagious or infectious diseases, hygienic instruction in the public schools, public baths, gymnasia and playgrounds. Any inspection of our efforts in the field of hygiene which should ignore the last-named agencies would be sadly incomplete, for as you know prevention in this matter is a thousand times better than cure.

Yet prevention is not always possible in spite of all our efforts. There has always been practice enough for

physicians and surgeons in Boston, and I believe we have had our share of the great names of your profession. One chair alone, the Parkman professorship of Anatomy at Harvard, has had four such distinguished occupants as John Warren, J. Collins Warren, Oliver Wendell Holmes and Thomas Dwight, my associate in this reception, and an honored member of the Board of Library Trustees. Indeed, the faculty of the Harvard Medical School has never been without names of national and international eminence, and the Ether Monument on the Public Garden, erected in honor of Dr. W. T. G. Morton, certainly commemorates one of the greatest discoveries ever made in the history of medicine.

Most of you, I presume, will visit our various medical colleges while you are here, and some of our well equipped hospitals, from the Massachusetts General Hospital, the oldest of all, to the City Hospital, of which Boston is no less proud than of its public library, its schools, its park system and its water works. The land and buildings of this institution represent an investment of nearly three million dollars, and its various departments contain nearly a thousand beds. Its administration, which is in the hands of a Board of Trustees, giving time and services without pay, is of the highest order, while the progressive spirit of its medical staff may be judged from the fact that the Boston City Hospital was among the first to introduce pathological study in clinical work and to use anti-toxin for diphtheria and the X-ray for diagnosis.

Other hospitals may be mentioned as deserving credit for success in special fields — such as the Carney Hospital, which for a long time was alone in receiving consumptive patients, and the Children's Hospital which has done such noble work in correcting deformities and in preserving precious young lives. But there is one hospital which is still to arrive, and one monument not yet erected. The people of Boston have in tuberculosis a foe as implacable and as insidious as the typhoid fever which scourges Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. We

have recently organized our defensive forces, and laid the foundation of what I prophesy will be a great institution, and I here and now promise a monument, built by popular subscription, on any site he may select to the member of your profession who shall forge the weapon by which we may effectively check the ravages of the White Plague.

Long addresses are not to your taste, gentlemen. Let me then briefly but heartily bid you welcome to Boston. I trust that your deliberations may be fruitful in good results for suffering humanity, and that you may succeed in your efforts to raise the standard of membership in your honorable profession.

TEMPERANCE.

W. C. T. U. CONVENTION, OCTOBER 18, 1906.

A few years ago Boston was honored by the presence of delegates from the International Peace Society holding their annual convention in Tremont Temple. Among those present were representatives from many lands, including men and women of world-wide reputation — Pastor Wagner from France, Baroness Von Sutton from Germany, Dr. William Walsh from Scotland and, by no means least in eloquence and charm, a Chinese woman physician who addressed the gatherings in the pure English of a Wellesley graduate.

I seem to see the same forces, if not the same personalities, assembled before me to-day. Your movement no less than the mission of the peace delegates has a universal appeal because, sad to say, it also fulfils a universal need. Intemperance like war knows neither latitude nor longitude, and the army that pursues it in all its habitations must fly the flag of every nation under the sun. Such an army must be nonpartisan, nonsectarian, international, and thus incidentally promote the spread of the spirit of human brotherhood; for, as far as I know, there is no race or sect or country free from the plague of inebriety.

But if the evil is great — and I think it is hardly possible for the wildest extremist to exaggerate it — the forces of redemption are stronger still. You all know what Father Mathew did for Ireland, what Lady Somerset has done in England, and the signs of the times point to the sure, if gradual, triumph in America of the cause for which so many genuine apostles have lived, the cause for which you, whom we are proud to welcome as our city's guests on this occasion, are sacrificing time and energy and means with no thought of personal reward.

You will find, I think, right here in Boston manifest evidences of improvement: In the diminished consumption of liquor, the reduced number of arrests for intoxication, and the comparative absence of disgraceful exhibitions in the public streets. Here, as elsewhere, the working class, and that includes all of us except a negligible fraction, are learning that alcoholic indulgence is the surest means of impairing the faculties and reducing earning capacity. Employers, in self-defence, are raising the standard among their help, the labor unions are exerting a powerful influence within their own ranks, and thus economic pressure, adding its force to the social stigma and religious and ethical appeal, is writing the legible marks of sobriety, happiness and health on the population which you will observe during your sojourn here.

What this means to the state and the city everyone knows. As drunkenness decreases, crime, poverty and disease, its legitimate offspring, must tend to disappear, and the people at large will be relieved of the burden of supporting a huge multitude of delinquents and incapables.

Speaking then as an official I am glad to offer you my warmest sympathy in your noble efforts at reform. Speaking as an individual I might go further. You have pitted your strength against one of the gravest evils of society. You seek to forewarn the young, to protect the innocent, to redeem the unfortunate. No one who is a father can refuse you honor and trust. Each of us would like to keep far from his own household the dangers you combat, and to that end I know no means, on the whole, more efficacious than the influence of good women. I welcome you, then, as true friends of humanity, whose efforts make for a cleaner and stronger civic structure and lay every family in Boston under a debt of personal gratitude.

MICHAEL ANAGNOS.

AT TREMONT TEMPLE, OCTOBER 24, 1906.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I bring the warm sympathy of Boston's people to this meeting this afternoon.

The life of Michael Anagnos, dividing itself into two distinct periods, offers two noble figures to our study and emulation—the Greek patriot and the American teacher.

A Boston gentleman, zealous for the liberation of the Greeks, found him, a youth in his native land, who consecrated his young ardor to the high cause of liberty. Their acquaintance ripened into friendship, and thus by what may seem a happy accident our country gained one more immigrant destined to a career of distinguished usefulness. In this land of opportunity the fervor of his aspiring manhood ran into new channels, and when the time came to select a successor to Doctor Howe, no one seemed more fitting than young Anagnos to direct the great institution which has so long aided and extended the fair credit of our beloved city.

I have said that this may be somewhat accidental, but in the deeper sense there was little that was accidental in our friend's career. It was no accident that Mr. Anagnos, with his generous nature, should give his powers to the cause of his oppressed fellow Greeks; it was no accident that a promising scholar and journalist should attract the attention of the educated American sympathizer; it was no accident that this lover of freedom should be drawn to the home of liberty, which has opened its arms before and since to Lafayette and Kosciusko, to Kossuth and Davitt, to John Burns and Henry George and other liberators from many lands; it was no accident that the hands which had striven to

release fettered limbs should feel themselves well occupied loosening the bandages on sightless eyes. The patriot and the teacher in this man, as in so many others, blended naturally, and I do not know which is his higher title to esteem.

Forty years of life in Boston did not cause Mr. Anagnos to cease to be a Greek. Although his fellow countrymen here were few he identified himself with their interests and stood frankly but not obtrusively before the community as a representative of a minor people. He was not ashamed to be a hyphenated American, if to escape that reproach meant ceasing to remember the country of his origin. It would be strange, indeed, if the pretensions of latter races led him to forget he was a kinsman of Socrates and Alexander, a defender of those matchless nations which over two thousand years ago raised civilization to its acme in the capital of Attica.

In one respect, however, this modern Greek rejected the wisdom of the ancients. The old Spartans exposed their puny infants on Mt. Taygetus. Our modern Sparta has its cradle for the frailest of these castaways, realizing that in the least of their helpless bodies there abides a glowing soul, and justly fearing the wrath of Heaven that should follow the sacrifice of that priceless jewel.

It is in this character that we know Michael Anagnos best — not as a mountain rebel, but as the shepherd of the sightless flock who are his chief mourners to-day. The statesman and the soldier may well envy this private citizen his wreath of tribute — the love of the afflicted among whom he walked, imparting strength, renewing hope, devising practical helps—in a word, maintaining worthily the traditions of that great school for the blind in which modern science and Christian charity all but duplicate the sweetest miracles of the Galilean.

THE CITY CLUB.

AT THE OPENING, DECEMBER, 1906.

A few years ago some one coined the phrase "civic pride" to designate a special form of patriotism. It meant, of course, loyalty to one's city. The city, after all, is the first social unit we grasp and the one that affects us most immediately. It has a particular atmosphere which envelopes all its citizens, a particular outlook upon life which it communicates to them. Every fine old city is as individual as a human being. We can tell a New Yorker, a Washingtonian, after a short acquaintance. And we cannot talk with them long without realizing that, while the people beyond the Rockies and along the Mexican Gulf are our compatriots and our brethren, their influence upon us is remote after all, and it is neighborly contact and the reactions of daily intercourse that mold us to a particular stamp and style.

This local loyalty is the spirit to which the City Club is dedicated. It flings a new banner to the breezes across the pathway of our daily travel and emblazons on its folds the personified figure of Boston to stir our imaginations and awaken a fruitful enthusiasm in our breasts. Not the Boston of 1776 or of 1861 — not a limited Boston adjacent, let us say, to the Public Garden or the Old South Church, but the live Boston of to-day and to-morrow, the whole Boston, the real Boston. We do not for a moment forget the past or slight its mementos and achievements, but we know that as the men of the past did not live in a dreamy retrospect but built new traditions over the débris of those they inherited, so we shall show ourselves their rightful heirs by discarding a part of our heritage from them — by meeting our own problems in our own way precisely as they met theirs.

Their Boston contained 12,000 to 100,000 people, all more or less homogeneous in race and religion. Ours is a city of 600,000 people, showing great diversity of origin and character. About one in six Bostonians of to-day is of native parentage. The other five-sixths come from many lands, profess many shades of belief, exhibit many varieties of temperament and physique. Out of these differences, certain fine barriers, invisible walls of separation, have arisen. These may not be of our making; nobody may be really to blame for them, but they are there, forming lines of cleavage all about us. Such artificial divisions have been a serious obstacle to the growth of civic pride among us. They have positively hurt the city because they tend to raise false issues and split the population into cliques and factions. They lead to grotesque misunderstandings and distrust, so that when Ward 13 meets Ward 11 to-day, the one still instinctively looks for a monocle and the other for a brickbat.

It is the special mission of the City Club to break down these misunderstandings and restore on a new basis the unity of spirit which Boston once displayed and without which it can never be strong. This it proposes to do not by trying to argue away existing differences but by bringing together men of all shades of opinion and then letting human nature take its course. Nine-tenths of the bigotry and proscription from which we have suffered in the past has been due to isolation and mutual ignorance. We have been altogether too exclusive,—all of us. But that is the last thing the City Club aims to be. Its ambition is to be inclusive in the broadest sense. Its doors stand wide open to the four winds and the twenty-five wards of the city and those who enter will find the social strata decidedly mixed and the good old Burns motto, “A man’s a man,” inscribed in the very smoke wreaths that curl up from the ends of their cigars.

In all this we are only emphasizing and hastening a manifest tendency of the times. We are all growing

together by the natural force of association. A hundred thousand of our children sit side by side in the schools, a quarter of a million men and women are thrown together in business relations. Narrowness vanishes when men and women come face to face and learn that they not only need but like and respect one another. It is natural and fitting that this general tendency should find expression in a society like the City Club. I have advocated this idea for years, indeed I feel that my views as expressed to the founders had some little influence in starting this club. For among all the excellent clubs of Boston I do not recall any which has perceived this particular opportunity and undertaken the work which we hope to do. Our distinction is not merely that we make no distinctions, but that we purposely cultivate the greatest variety in our membership in order that there may be at least one social organization in the city which is thoroughly representative. The members of such a body cannot fail to gain in mutual understanding and in fraternity of spirit, and the club as a whole must surely wield an influence toward united and coherent action for the welfare of Boston.

PEACE.

PEACE DAY, MAY 11, 1907.

In the coming month the nations of the world will turn their thoughts and attention to the Second Peace Conference to meet at The Hague. Upon the decision of that tribunal will hang the future happiness or sorrow of millions of our fellow beings. There will be none who will wait and watch for the final judgment of the assembled delegates with a deeper interest, a more fervent hope, or a fuller realization of the woe that war entails than the mothers of men throughout the world. It is they who in the final analysis of war will be found to have paid the dearest cost. It is they who have come to know the full meaning of Longfellow's lines:

The tumult of each sacked and burning village,
The shout that every prayer for mercy drowns,
The soldiers' revels in the midst of pillage,
The wail of famine in beleaguered towns.

The prominent part played by women in the recent Peace Congress is theirs by right. And it is to united womanhood that we must continue to look for the guiding force to drive war and its horrors from the face of God's earth. It is through the efforts of such organizations as the Massachusetts Federation of Women's Clubs that this and similar reforms are to be advanced, and it is to the noblest of Boston's daughters, Julia Ward Howe, the honorary president of the Federation, that the chief honor of the work already accomplished belongs.

In every movement instituted during the past hundred years that has had for its object the improvement of the moral or physical well-being of mankind, the citizens of Boston have ever been leaders. While it was here in

the streets of our city that the first blood was shed for American Independence, here, too, was planned the first International Peace Congress in the world, which resulted in the meeting held in London in 1843. And although Philadelphia claims the honor of establishing in 1815 the first Peace Society for the promotion of universal peace, it was the following year that the Massachusetts Peace Society was formed under the guidance of Noah Worcester, Channing and Sumner. Here in 1869 was held the great Peace Jubilee under the direction of Gilmore. There were assembled on the Coliseum Grounds at that time an orchestra and chorus embracing musicians and singers from every quarter of the globe in a monster peace celebration, the memory of which remains unique in the world. In October, 1904, the International Peace Congress held its meeting here in Boston, where the entire movement for the world's peace as at present organized had its inception sixty-five years ago.

In the discussion incident to the proceedings of the recent congress held in New York City it was gravely suggested by men whose education and training should have taught them better, that war was a necessary evil and would continue so long as man remained human. The utter fallacy of such a position is apparent to every reader of history, to every student of men. The truth is that war will continue just so long as nations or powerful individuals find in it a source of profit. It will continue until man has been taught to apply to the solution of international questions the same code of reason and law which he relies upon for the adjustment of his private affairs. No sane man desirous of collecting an account from a debtor would think of calling on him armed to the teeth and presenting to him the alternative of being shot to pieces or paying on the spot. Nor is any man's honor vindicated by his putting a bullet into him who assails it. He merely stops one tongue and adds the stain of murder to the honor he would defend. Yet this is exactly the attitude of

nations; a demonstration of force is deemed necessary to back up each and every demand whether just or unjust. In a single generation, during the past century, the so-called Christian countries of Europe and America gave proof of their belief in the teachings of the Divine Apostle of Peace by slaughtering 2,200,000 of his creatures as a gory tribute to national honor. Aside from the homes made desolate, and the attendant suffering in varied forms resulting from these conflicts, the actual money cost has been computed at thirteen billions of dollars; a sum greater by a billion dollars than the total assessed valuation of the entire United States forty years ago.

It seems a trifle strange, in view of the apparent earnestness of the various countries represented at the Hague, that the world's expenditures for purposes of war have increased at a greater rate during the past five years than for any similar period since 1881. Great Britain's expenses in this direction have more than doubled in the past twenty-five years; Germany's have trebled; Russia's have trebled; Japan's more than quadrupled, while the peace-loving United States has doubled its expenditures. Although President Roosevelt says we maintain but an infinitesimal army, our expenditures for its support have trebled in the last generation. Though it is claimed that our navy is not being increased in power, we are spending on it to-day \$16.40 of each \$100 appropriated by Congress for all purposes, as against \$6.20 in 1885.

Despite conditions, however, despite this enormous increase in expenditure for war by every nation on earth, the end of war as a means for settling international disputes is in sight. Thanks to the spread of education, the plain citizen, whose principal interest in the matter is to pay the cost, is beginning to realize that it is not he but the ship builder, the ordnance and armor plate manufacturer who reaps the profit. He is learning to question the wisdom of spending millions of money and sacrificing the lives of thousands of men for

no purpose that he can see but that this or that trust or monopoly should gain thereby some trade concession. He is told that trade follows the flag, but he is beginning to wonder how profitable that trade will be to him if for each \$1,000 of trade so won he is compelled to pay a million dollars for protection. He is coming to realize that the money spent to-day for the maintenance of armed peace would pay for the reclamation of every desert and arid tract of land on earth; would supply millions of people with homes; would establish industrial education throughout the entire world, and put every unemployed man to profitable labor; that it would establish a world-wide system of old age pensions, or enable man to successfully combat poverty and disease. It would mean that the millions of picked men who comprise the standing armies of the world could return to the pursuit of arts and industries. It would do all these and a thousand other things, but above all it would promote the universal happiness of mankind. William Penn's plan for universal peace was not a dream; his estimate of the resultant good will yet be proven true.

In the prosecution of this work none should deprecate the great good that must result from free discussion of the entire question, nor should we fail to recognize the power for good that rests in the hands of women organized for the promotion of human happiness. The Massachusetts Federation, with its 200 clubs and upwards of 25,000 members, has established a noble record during the fourteen years since its formation. Nor is it to be wondered at with the venerable Mrs. Howe acting as its president during the first years of its growth. To few persons in the world belong a greater part in the abolition of slavery than is her share, and it is to her and to the mothers of the world that we must look for support in the grandest work ever undertaken by mankind, the abolition of war.

It is woman who is ever called upon to make the supreme sacrifice. While the world rings from end to

end with the glory of this or that military hero, no word is heard of the mother who bore him, no word is heard of the mothers of those who gave their lives for his renown. No thought is taken of the hopes and fears which beset each mother's heart during the long years from infancy to manhood, when as she fondly hoped he would stand beside her in his full strength, her pride and protector. None reck of her misery when that day has come and she learns in sorrow and bitterness that a mocking fate has decreed that the son whom she brought into the world in pain and anguish was destined to be but food for gunpowder. Julia Ward Howe's "Appeal to Womanhood" still rings throughout the world. The day described by Whittier is not far distant:

When earth as on some evil dreams
Looks back upon her wars,
And the white light of Christ out-streams
From the red disk of Mars.

His fame who led the stormy van
Of battle well may cease,
But never that which crowns the man
Whose victory is peace.

Who can blame the mothers of men in all the world if, until that day shall come, we find them like Zimena, "The Angel of Buena Vista," breathing forth their reproach on the battle field as they minister to the fallen friend and foe:

A bitter curse upon them, poor boy, who led thee forth,
From some gentle, sad-eyed mother, weeping lonely in the
North.

THE OLD LATIN SCHOOL.

AT KING'S CHAPEL EXERCISES, SEPTEMBER 23, 1907.

As I stand here in this magnificent presence, in this house of prayer and praise, I cannot help thinking how appropriate it is that these exercises take place in King's Chapel, for is it not true that when the communicants of this church needed larger accommodations, the Latin School changed its residence to a site on the opposite side of the street and "Learning gave way to the church." How many of our citizens know, or for a moment recall, that School street takes its name from the fact that on this street stood for generations the first free public school in America, the Latin Grammar School, whose children assemble here to-day to commemorate in bronze the first successful protest of the American boy against foreign oppression.

In your Fourth of July oration of the year 1897, Dr. Hale, you say: "I believe that if I were in your Honor's chair next January, on one of those holidays which nobody knows what to do with, I would commemorate the first great victory of 1775. To do this well I would issue an order that any school boy in Boston who would bring his sled to School street might coast down hill all day there in memory of that famous coasting in January, 1775, when the Latin School boys told the English general that to coast on School street had been their right 'from time immemorial,' and when they won that right from him."

While there may be serious practical objections to such an annual commemoration, we are here to-day to show that we are not forgetful of the event and that we hold in grateful memory the boys who in the morning of the Revolution knew "their rights and knowing dared maintain them."

As the representative of the city government in accepting from you this tablet commemorative of the independent spirit of Latin School boys of a bygone generation, I am possessed with a feeling of honorable pride in the knowledge that I, too, am a Latin School boy. In the establishment of the Latin School, antedating by a few years the founding of Harvard College, the forefathers laid the foundation of the now universal system of free education that is native only to American soil. From the beginning the school has been a perfect type of democratic institution. Here the child of the most aristocratic citizen of the colony sat side by side with the boy whose father occupied the most humble position; here caste had no meaning. Perfect equality was guaranteed to every one within the colony. For the old world question as to the rank and quality of the individual voiced in the query "Who is he?" was substituted the inquiry "What is he?" It was the individual himself who counted in those days of empire building. All were on the same level; he only was considered most worthy who exhibited the greatest ability. Nor during the 272 years of the school's existence has there been a change in this respect. A descendant of the signer of the Declaration of Independence will be found sitting side by side with the son of a recently arrived immigrant, neither having a monopoly of the honors, and each equally proud of the traditions of his beloved school.

GENERAL BOOTH.

WELCOME, SEPTEMBER 27, 1907.

In welcoming General Booth to our City of Boston, I fully appreciate the great honor that is mine, in that I am to-day the bearer of Boston's welcome to one of the greatest figures in the Christian world. It is because I welcome to our city the living personification of an idea; of the sublime courage that knows not defeat; of the perfect charity that can see none lost, that can see none suffer, but best of all, one whose broad tolerance and abiding faith in human nature enables him to discern the good in even the lowest and most degraded of God's creatures. It is due to his perfect optimism and to his ability to discover the little grain of gold that exists in the moral dross of every man however debased or fallen.

Throughout the world his fame has gone as one of the greatest men of our time; one who has performed a great and noble work, and unlike the fate of most men who give their lives for the uplifting of their fellows, honor has come to him in his lifetime. His whole life, since that day forty-six years ago when he took up his burden for the sake of humanity, has been one of unceasing toil and persistent endeavor; years of it spent beneath the jeering scorn of an unthinking and unheeding world.

A little tent in the old burial ground at Mile End road in East London was his first tabernacle; the denizens of Whitechapel formed his first congregation. From that small beginning has grown the great organization that exists to-day as the Salvation Army, an organization represented in fifty-three countries and numbering 700 army corps, 18,000 officers and millions of privates, each and all of whom are imbued with a moiety of the indomitable will that inspired their leader. In every possible way have his energies been bent to the task of

promoting the spiritual, moral and physical welfare of humanity of whatever race or color. From first to last the entire work of upbuilding the splendid organization that fills so important a place in the world to-day has been the labor of this giant among men.

The institutions that have been founded, the homes that have been erected to shelter those who have been plucked like brands from the burning, form to-day a glorious and lasting monument to the genius and devotion of General Booth. Throughout the world this wonderful organization maintains homes for women, for boys and girls, rescue missions, and farm colonies. It conducts immigration and labor bureaus, naval and military homes, a hospital, Indian schools, a bank and an insurance company. In its great elevators at London it employs hundreds of men sorting and packing tons of waste paper. In connection with these elevators there is maintained at Battersea a wharf and a large fleet of barges for transporting this reclaimed waste product to foreign markets where it is sold.

In the work of the immigration bureau, as conducted by the army, there is an object lesson which might well be learned by the United States officials in charge of the department in this country. It has ever been the experience of General Booth that men will work if they can find work, but that sometimes too many congregate at one point to the disadvantage of all. To remedy this fault the army has established labor bureaus everywhere to the end that the unemployed may be sent to points where their services are in demand. He would solve the problem of surplus labor, which often results in filling our cities with great armies of unemployed men, by aiding the idle to emigrate to those colonies or countries where work in abundance awaits them. Thus it will be seen that underlying all the charity so widely dispensed by the Salvation Army there is a foundation of sound and practical economy.

How noble, how deserving of fame and honor are the works of the Salvation Army, representing as they do

the labors of a single individual with no other capital than an unfailing spirit and a firm belief in himself and in his mission. Thus we find General Booth to-day, although well past the allotted three score and ten years of life, still zealous, still as active and full of enthusiasm as when forty years ago he went bravely about his task of saving souls and making easy life's tortuous pathways for the suffering and oppressed. In those bygone days he was compelled to bear the lash of Huxley's scornful ridicule and abuse. Even within the memory of many among the young men about us to-night his creed and his labors have been targets for the derisive jeers of the mob. Yet through it all his steadfast spirit has never faltered. He has lived to see the verdict of the world reversed. He has lived to hear men say of him to-day as Goldsmith sang of the village preacher of an older time:

His house was known to all the vagrant train;
He chid their wanderings, but relieved their pain.
The long remembered beggar was his guest,
Whose beard, descending, swept his aged breast;
The ruined spendthrift, now no longer proud,
Claimed kindred there and had his claims allow'd.

The broken soldier, kindly bade to stay,
Sate by his fire and talked the night away —
Wept o'er his wounds or tales of sorrow done,
Shouldered his crutch and showed how fields were won.
Pleased with his guests, the good man learned to glow,
And quite forgot their vices in their woe;
Careless their merits or their faults to scan,
His pity gave ere charity began.

And as a bird each fond endearment tries
To tempt its new fledged offspring to the skies,
He tried each art, reprov'd each dull delay,
Allured to brighter worlds and led the way.
At church, with meek and unaffected grace,
His looks adorned the venerable place;
Truth from his lips prevailed, with double sway,
And fools who came to scoff remained to pray.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF 1906-07.

AT FANEUIL HALL, NOVEMBER 29, 1907.

I come before you to-day as a candidate for re-election to the office of Mayor of Boston, to which I was chosen by your suffrages two years ago. I come before you standing upon and prepared to defend the record of my administration, not as distorted by prejudiced opponents, but as disclosed by official facts and figures. I am well aware that my administration has not been a perfect one, and I am quite certain that in the light of my experience in office and with the help of an aroused interest in our municipal affairs among the people I can improve it during the next two years. But I do not shrink from, on the contrary I challenge, any fair comparison of my record with that of past administrations, Democratic or Republican, whether the basis of comparison be honesty, economy or efficiency. The citizens of Boston certainly intend to be fair. They will not charge me with the responsibility for matters or for conditions which are wholly outside of the control of the Mayor's office, and I do not seek to avoid the full responsibility for the exercise of all the powers, whether administrative or financial, which our charter places in the hands of the Mayor.

It is no small honor and no light responsibility to be the chief magistrate of this great city. Boston stands for something, not only in New England or in the United States, but in the world. Her patriotic history is a part of our common inheritance; her reputation as a center of enlightenment, of philanthropy and of progressive ideas is dear to all her people. Her deeds of charity in the relief of distress and disaster are known throughout the world; her hospitals, her schools, her philanthropic activities in many varied fields are a

source of pride to all of us. The scope of her municipal activities is so great, her relations to the welfare of her people are so close, that the duties of the Mayor are indeed exacting; these duties are so comprehensive and the responsibilities accompanying their performance are so great that no man has in recent years filled, or ever can fill, the office to the full satisfaction of all of our citizens or without falling short of its full requirements.

It is easy to criticise and to distort, to find officials here and there who do not fully measure up to an ideal standard, to find instances here and there of lax administration or of defective systems or methods. An administration is entitled to be judged neither by its worst nor by its best features, but by the standard of its average performance. I have the right to ask to be so judged. I make the claim that the present administration when so measured may challenge comparison with its predecessors in respect to the average character and ability of the new appointee whom it has placed in office, in the average character of the municipal service which it has maintained, and in its general dealings with the finances and business of the city.

We all know that public opinion in this city as elsewhere has in the last two years grown more exacting in the standard which it sets up for public officials. While this makes the task of one who presents himself as a candidate for re-election a more difficult one, I am far from complaining of this advanced attitude of the public mind; on the contrary, even though I may have to suffer some injustice and overcome many added difficulties on account of this change, I welcome it as one which is full of promise for the future. If the government of Boston is upon the whole, as I believe that impartial judges will pronounce it, superior in the variety and the character of the service which it renders to our citizens than the governments of other great American cities, this is because the standards of our people have in the past been higher than those which have existed elsewhere. If our citizens are now ready,

as seems to be the case, to elevate still further their municipal standards, to demand greater efficiency in administration, a general improvement of systems and methods, and sounder financial policies, no man who is fit to be Mayor of this city can fail to join with them, if not to lead them, in helping on this upward movement and in introducing such changes as will satisfy the more exacting and enlightened civic spirit of the present day.

With the present aroused state of public opinion in this community, helped on so largely by the Press, much can be done which has not heretofore been possible; many changes and improvements can be introduced for which the necessary legislative authority could not formerly be obtained. Much can be done during the next two years which was not possible during the last two years. I do not yield to either of my opponents in the coming election in a desire to improve the financial and administrative system of the city, and to elevate the standard of efficiency in its executive departments. Having acquired by hard work an intimate knowledge of present conditions, I cannot make promises which every well informed man must know are impossible of fulfillment. I cannot promise to keep all employees in office at existing salaries or wages and at the same time reduce the pay rolls; nor can I promise to control the increase of debt in those lines of expenditure, such as the construction of subways and schoolhouses, which the Legislature has placed beyond the power of the city government. But I can promise to apply to the problems which our citizens desire to see solved all of the experience which I have gained and of the knowledge which I possess in regard to city affairs, and this is incomparably greater than that of either of my opponents.

Every intelligent citizen must know that if I had no other motive for promoting the reforms which the citizens of Boston demand, and for which the time is obviously ripe, I have one which is all-sufficient. A

stranger to Boston would be led to believe, if he obtained his information from certain of our newspapers, that the Finance Commission had been instituted by my political opponents as a means of discrediting my administration; yet that body was created and endowed with its powers wholly at my initiative and upon my recommendation. I have sometimes been credited with possessing my share of political ambition; let me assure you that this ambition extends not merely to the temporary holding of public office, but to the building up of a public reputation, which in the long run is of much greater consequence to any man. Born and educated in Boston, owing my advancement from a humble start in life to the support which her citizens have given me as a candidate for various offices, intending to remain identified with Boston and with the interests of her people for the remainder of my life, bringing up my family of six children to share her future, I have something at stake in this community. If after being responsible for the creation of the Finance Commission, well knowing its action would be wholly beyond my control, I should obstruct its work or oppose the adoption of the measures which it will later recommend, my future reputation and usefulness would necessarily suffer.

I have one other preliminary word to say about a subject to which it ought not to be necessary to refer. Racial and religious considerations have nothing to do with the city government of Boston and have no place in a municipal campaign. No man is either qualified or disqualified to serve as mayor of this cosmopolitan city through the blood that runs in his veins or the church to which he chooses to belong. It is an insult to the people of this city to say that no one is politically eligible to the highest office in their gift unless he belongs to a particular race or adhere to a particular religion; their suffrages will never be given to or withheld from a candidate on any such grounds. Every well informed man knows that there is no political solidarity in this

city among its citizens of the various races and creeds who live together here in harmonious relations; they are too intelligent and too independent to allow their votes to be delivered in a block by any man or by any political party.

I have a right to resent articles recently published in a national weekly, obviously for effect upon this local campaign, not because they are directed against myself, but because they are cunningly designed to raise a racial and religious issue where none exists, to give to my candidacy a character which is foreign to it. The people of Boston are aware, even if the stranger is not, that no man has ever held office in this city who was less actuated by prejudice than myself, more cosmopolitan in his sympathies and affiliations and more loyally supported by different elements in the community. The people of whom I happen to be one will, like all others, vote according to their political convictions at the coming election; if I had no better plea to make to them than one based upon community of blood and faith they would be the first to reject me.

I certainly do not wish to discredit any movement for greater economy in our municipal administration, but nothing is to be gained by misrepresenting the facts or by holding up Boston as a horrible example of financial extravagance and mismanagement. A stranger might assume from reading the newspapers that our municipal affairs have been so extravagantly conducted that our people are crushed beneath a relatively high rate of taxation; but the fact is that within the Metropolitan District a comparison of tax rates is decidedly in favor of Boston. The tax rate for each and every one of the twelve cities in the district for the present year is higher than our own rate of \$15.90, and the average for the whole district, including Boston, is \$18.12. A statement of our relation to the other cities of the Commonwealth in respect to percentage of net debt to taxable valuation is also decidedly pertinent and interesting. The impression is given that Boston is more heavily

burdened with debt than are other cities; the fact is that of the thirty-three cities in the state Boston ranks not at the top but midway in the list in the percentage of net debt to valuation, fifteen cities making a better showing than Boston, while seventeen make a poorer showing. If we are overburdened with debt these seventeen cities are in a still worse plight, and it is high time that they instituted local finance commissions, as we have done, to improve their financial systems and methods.

Some of you have been led to believe that Boston stands alone among the cities of the country in respect to increased municipal loans and expenditures, but this is far from being the case. Boston enjoys no isolated pre-eminence in this matter; our experience simply illustrates the general tendency, not only throughout the United States but throughout the world, to increase public expenditures and public loans. This tendency may have gone too far and it may threaten alarming consequences in the future, but this certainly is not peculiar to the City of Boston, as we learn from the last publication of the United States Census Bureau. This tells us that in the four years of 1901-05, inclusive, the 148 largest cities in this country increased their net debt by not less than 21.5 per cent, while during the same period their aggregate population only increased 7.9 per cent. These figures tell of modern municipal expenditures and loans due to the demand of the people for improved and extended municipal service.

One would think from some of the comments which are made upon the debt of Boston that it represented a wasteful expenditure of public money; the fact is that it is balanced by assets of enormous value. This appears very clearly from the figures contained in the recent publication of the United States Census Bureau covering the statistics of American cities for the year 1905.

This publication gives the gross debt of Boston as \$99,191,856, and the assets of the city as \$152,972,670.

Further analysis would demonstrate that the real showing is still more favorable to the city, as sinking funds held against gross debt are not included in our assets, nor are streets and sewers, and of course our investment in the latter item is enormous. The Census Bureau calls attention to this fact, and says: "Therefore, in making comparisons between the value of these properties and the total debt there should be eliminated the debt for sewers, general street improvements, street paving and local improvements and practically all that are for general improvement."

The census classes \$39,434,570 of our assets as productive, and \$113,558,100 as nonproductive; therefore if our productive assets have not decreased since 1905 — and everyone knows on the contrary that they have increased — we hold to-day, as against a net debt of \$69,371,967 on November 21, 1907, more than \$39,000,000 of productive assets, to say nothing of \$113,000,000 of assets classed as nonproductive but representing immense value. Something has been said in regard to the purchase of land by the city at extravagant figures under my administration. I have had this matter thoroughly gone into and have had a statement prepared showing the total expenditures of the city for real estate purchased or taken under the different administrations since 1899.

Without assuming to criticise any of my predecessors in office, I can at least claim that the figures present a surprising contrast in favor of my administration. Of course the only standard by which we can measure the extravagance or economy shown in such transactions is by the relation between the amount paid by the city and the assessed valuation. Taking this as a basis the figures show that under the first administration of Mayor Hart the city paid 79 per cent for such purchases or takings in excess of the assessed valuation; under the administration of Mayor Matthews 89 per cent; under the administration of Mayor Curtis 92 per cent; under the administration of Mayor Quincy 85

per cent; under the second administration of Mayor Hart 58 per cent; under that of Mayor Collins 51 per cent, while during the first year of my administration the excess was only 18 per cent above the assessed valuation. These figures speak for themselves.

Perhaps many people honestly believe that my administration has been particularly extravagant in its creation of new debt; the record shows that, on the contrary, it has been particularly economical. The increase of the net debt during the calendar year 1906 amounted to \$1,530,494, and during this year it has amounted to \$1,071,265; this is a smaller increase of the debt in each of these years than for any year since 1893. The decrease of the debt during the years 1900 and 1901, as is well understood, was wholly due to the large payment — \$12,530,000 — received from the Commonwealth for the taking of our waterworks. Omitting these two years, the average yearly increase in the net debt for the other ten years, from 1894 to 1905, inclusive, was \$4,208,912.88. Surely vague charges of extravagance in respect to the incurring of indebtedness are sufficiently disposed of by the citation of such figures as these. I should be glad to submit my record in respect to the increase of our debt to every business man and taxpayer in Boston and rest my claims to re-election upon their impartial verdict.

The City Auditor has compiled, at my request, a statement of the number of municipal employees for the years 1888 and 1907. This shows that the total number of employees has increased 80 per cent in this period, partly through increases in departments existing at the former date, partly through the creation of new departments or the instituting of new lines of municipal service. The claim is constantly made that these increases are made largely for political reasons, to increase the amount of patronage available; but the figures show that with a total increase of 80 per cent, the number of the employees of the Street Department increased only 37 per cent, while those of the School Committee increased

108 per cent; those of the Hospital Department 147 per cent; those of the Library Department 278 per cent; those of the Pauper Institutions 284 per cent, and those of the County of Suffolk 146 per cent.

Certainly these marked increases in the departments which have never been accused of being subject to political influence tell a story of a legitimate growth in the requirements of the municipal services.

I have just received the latest report of the Finance Commission, made as a result of the investigation which it has just finished, closing with ten specific recommendations. These cover at least one change in the law of the state, various changes in the systems and methods of conducting the business of the city, and several recommendations as to the action and policy of the executive departments. The commission has possessed much larger facilities for thorough investigation than have ever before been available, and any carefully considered recommendations which come from it are entitled to every consideration; having initiated the commission I certainly receive them with every disposition to put them into effect. That many of these recommendations can be adopted with advantage to the city, I have no doubt. I am certainly in sympathy with the recommendation that members of the state Legislature should be prohibited from being interested in city contracts; I believe, moreover, that the present provision of the charter providing that members of the City Council shall not "directly or indirectly take part in the making of contracts," should be made so specific that there can be no possible doubt, as there is at present, of its legal interpretation. Of course, all contracts with the city should be signed by the real parties in interest, and I should be glad to adopt any methods the Finance Commission can suggest to better enforce this requirement. I am in entire sympathy with the recommendation that the City Engineer should be given larger powers and responsibilities in connection with any city contracts involving

city engineering; but instead of changing the interpretation of the existing ordinances as suggested by the commission, I believe it would be much better to so amend the terms of the ordinance that the city would not be dependent upon an interpretation which might change under different administrations. It has certainly been my desire and intention that heads of departments requesting authority from the Mayor to award contracts over \$2,000, otherwise than through advertisement and open competition, should file with such requests "a written statement giving in detail good and sufficient reasons for not inviting bids by advertisement;" if this has not been done in every case heretofore, I shall certainly see that it is done in the future. Of course, reputable firms should be encouraged to compete for city work; if it is intended to imply that reputable firms are not now so competing, any such idea is wholly contrary to the facts and can be readily disproved. Of course, the city should not allow under a percentage contract any higher salaries or wages than those actually paid by the contractor, and I will heartily support any means of enforcing this obviously proper requirement.

Having said this much in regard to the formal recommendations of the commission, I feel bound to add that the report which accompanies these recommendations seems to be in many respects not in accordance with the facts disclosed in evidence and unfair to the present administration. I propose to take up this report in future speeches and go more into detail than I can now. To take a single instance, I do not believe that the commission can show to the satisfaction of any fair-minded business man that it is possible for the city through any change in its methods of purchasing coal to save any such sum as \$100,000 a year. Under existing conditions in the coal trade I do not believe that it is possible for the city to save money as suggested by the commission by making contracts for coal in the spring for delivery in the fall, and I believe that the

experience of large private consumers of coal in this city will bear out my statement.

The investigations of the Finance Commission have brought prominently before the public the question of the methods which ought to be employed in the making of city contracts. One side of this question, namely, that which favors the advertising of all contracts of any size and their award to the lowest bidder, is apparently intended to be supported by the investigation; full inquiry and study of the subject may, perhaps, show that this, upon the whole, is the best system; yet much is to be said upon the other side. This administration has not originated, as some might be led to imagine, the practice of making contracts otherwise than through public advertisement and award to the lowest bidder, nor is such practice peculiar to the City of Boston. This administration has adopted no methods or practices different from those which have existed here for many years, nor are they different from those which exist in the conduct of the business of other cities and of the Commonwealth itself. It is not the established practice of the departments of the Commonwealth to advertise publicly in the open market for the work which they require to be executed and for the supplies which they are required to purchase, and to award their contracts to the lowest bidders in such open competition; the statutes are far more strict in the control of the business methods of Boston than in their control of the departments of the Commonwealth,—and the state departments, freely and without criticism, seem to be able, without arousing public criticism, to avail themselves of the discretion and of the latitude which is allowed them. It is by no means an axiom, as some people now thoughtlessly assume, that public authorities can secure better and more economical results by advertising for bids; if such were the case all well-managed private corporations would follow that practice, whereas it is a notorious fact that they do not do so, and for good business reasons.

The best private practice is that of private competition among a limited number of selected bidders and experience shows that this produces the best results.

I do not claim that the conditions surrounding public work are such that it is proper and desirable to adopt this system as a rule; I do claim that the assumption that the public suffers whenever it is departed from is wholly unwarranted. Many of the best and most responsible bidders are unwilling to submit to the conditions of a public competition, but are perfectly willing to bid privately. The assumption that there is some political or corrupt motive underlying every departure from strict competition in the case of public work is entirely unfounded.

A striking illustration of what I have said has been afforded in connection with the purchases of coal by the city.

In the past most of the city departments have purchased their supplies of coal, as have most large private consumers, relying upon the representations of the coal dealer and upon a practical test of the coal as used. The inquiry of the Finance Commission led up to the conclusion that it would be theoretically a more scientific system and one more proof against fraud to purchase coal upon specifications which made the seller guarantee its fuel value and which subjected him to deductions for any deficiency which might be disclosed by analysis below certain standards. I adopted this idea with enthusiasm, believing that it ought to prove beneficial to the city; but it proves that theory is one thing and practice is another in connection with the coal business. Under the specifications which the City Engineer had prepared by Mr. Williams, the coal expert of the Finance Commission, the coal dealers of Boston, who are neither dishonest nor in collusion with one another, were unwilling to bid. On such a public advertisement the Public Buildings Department did not receive a single bid; the Supply Department received only one bid and this had to be rejected as plainly disadvantageous to

the city, since the same coal could be purchased otherwise at a considerably lower price. I have no doubt that some system will be worked out by which the city will throw all possible safeguards around its purchases of coal; but if anyone has the idea that obvious and easily applied safeguards have been disregarded in the past and that coal dealers could easily have been made to guarantee the fuel value of the coal which they sold if the officials had taken the trouble to ask them to do so, he is very much mistaken.

All of our taxpayers have occasion to become familiar with the analysis and classification of the expenditures of the city which is printed upon the face of the tax bills. I have had the Statistics Department carry out this analysis in much greater detail, covering all of the ordinary expenditures of the city for the financial year 1906-07. This enables me to present a clear statement, comprehensible to the average citizen, showing the application of our taxes; from this statement it can also be clearly seen how far it is in the power of any Mayor to effect economies through the control of these expenditures. Carrying out the percentages only to a single figure beyond the decimal point, this table shows that of the \$26,688,359 raised by taxation and expended during our last financial year, 17.6 per cent went for interest and sinking fund requirements on city and county debt, 15.4 per cent for taxes and assessments payable to the Commonwealth, 14 per cent for schools, 7.2 per cent for police, 5.3 per cent for Fire Department and 3.6 per cent for the County of Suffolk; these six items, therefore, account at once for 63.1 per cent, or nearly two-thirds of our ordinary expenditures, and it is certainly beyond the power of the Mayor to effect economies in respect to any of these items. Continuing the same analysis, we find that of the remaining expenditures 8.1 per cent were made by our twelve unpaid boards; while their work is under the supervision of the Mayor, they are to a large extent independent administrative authorities, and I do not think it is charged

that they are unduly extravagant in the expenditure of public money, or that they are influenced by any political motives.

The Lamp Department accounts for the expenditure of an additional 3 per cent of the total, and this is practically a fixed expense; the financial departments, which are certainly not extravagantly run, account for a further expenditure of 1.5 per cent; the legislative departments, over which the Mayor has no control, account for .75 per cent and the Water Department accounts for 3 per cent. The aggregate of these last-named items amounts to 16.3 per cent, and adding these to the others first named, we have a total of 79.4 per cent, or almost exactly four-fifths of the whole tax levy. The remaining 20.6 per cent covers, besides the Health Department, all of the departments formerly coming under the jurisdiction of the Street Department, including the Sanitary, Sewer, Bridge and Street Cleaning Departments, as well as the present Street Department, and all other departments not enumerated above. Everyone who is at all informed as to the city finances knows that the expenditures for the maintenance of these departments are practically fixed, and that no Mayor can materially reduce them without such curtailment of their service as would soon arouse a public protest, or without such a reduction of salaries and wages as public opinion would not support. I shall be glad to submit the full table from which these figures are drawn to anyone who desires it, and I commend it to the attention of those who are promising large reductions in the expenditures of the city without discharge of employees or impairment of the service now rendered, or the discontinuance of lines of municipal work demanded by the public.

THE IRISH EXILES.

MARCH 17, 1910.

To-night our thoughts turn to Ireland, but not to Ireland alone. What of the "poor exiles"? What of the seed scattered in five continents? Has it thriven and borne fruit? Their blood has reddened every battlefield; their voices have been heard everywhere preaching the gospel of liberty and humanity; their labor has enriched every clime; their energy and virility have founded and sustained tremendous enterprises which have prospered the republic.

But the black history of our race still throws its shadow over us. For hundreds of years all activity in Ireland was political, military or literary. The island was a welter of bloody onslaught and desperate resistance until there settled over it at last the desolate peace of the eighteenth century — the peace of a prison. Walled in by repressive enactments, menaced by the guns of an alien soldiery, this fairest land of Europe wore the grim aspect of a penal colony. The world passed on its way, adding new arts and inventions, all the modern machinery of industry and commerce to the stock of human achievement, while in Ireland the people vegetated in barren acres, dreaming of liberty and writing their passionate visions on the walls of their dungeons.

Is it wonderful that they came out of their experience bewildered and dreaming still; that, like the child torn from its home and only restored after long years, they did not at first know the face of the great parent of success — opportunity? The Indian, long a hunter, cannot turn farmer in a day. The Jew, a trader for centuries, does not take readily to the mechanical arts. We must allow the Irishman to shake off the dreams, legacy of the day when nothing was left him but a stifled inward brooding over wrong. He has to learn to look out upon the world as it is, to study anew the importance of skill in hand and eye and head — once, many centuries ago, his birthright.

INLAND WATERWAYS.

AT THE WATERWAYS CONVENTION, MAY 19, 1910.

GENTLEMEN,— A century ago Massachusetts was the foremost of American commonwealths in the promotion of inland waterways and canals, but with the introduction of steam as a motor force and the creation of a great network of railroads the water connections fell into disuse and promising projects like the Cape Cod Canal were abandoned. Latterly, we have felt the pinch of high railroad rates and of acute railroad congestion and commerce is now seeking relief through the cheaper and easier outlets afforded by waterways. The movement which has expressed itself on a large scale in the Panama Canal and the proposed development of the Mississippi is reflected in Massachusetts in a dozen smaller projects, some of which exist only on paper, while others are well on the way toward completion.

In all these we are merely imitating the wisdom of the older and more crowded countries of Europe. These nations long ago discovered that transportation by water is the cheapest method and the bulk of their coarser freight goes to its destination along the rivers and canals. The relative cost of various methods of transportation is well shown by a recent writer in the "Outlook":

Suppose we had a ton of freight to ship and a dollar with which to pay for its shipping — how far will the dollar carry the ton by these different methods of transportation? By horse and wagon, 4 miles; by English steam truck, 20 miles; by rail, at the average rate for United States railways in 1907, 127 1-2 miles; at the rate on the group of selected railways, 200 miles; on the Erie Canal, 333 miles; on the European canals, 500 miles; by lake, at the average rate through the "Soo" Canal in 1907, 1,250 miles; while at the rate at which coal has been carried both on the Great Lakes and on the Ohio and Missis-

sippi rivers, the ton of freight can be shipped 30 miles for a cent, 300 miles for a dime, 3,000 miles for a dollar.

Marseilles, in France, was once the foremost port of continental Europe; it lost its prestige by not properly maintaining its waterways. The French Government has recently spent millions in the building of a canal, with the idea of helping this city to regain its standing as a seaport. In Russia wonderful engineering feats are now being pushed forward, and waterways of stupendous dimensions are being constructed, the one from the Baltic to Vladivostok being a most unusual feat of engineering. This policy of linking the great river systems has proven a stimulus to the national life of the country.

England has suffered because her inland waterways are practically all canals. Their care and improvement are the subject of continual discussion, but the fact that the greater part of the stock of the controlling companies is owned by the railroads has proven a hindrance to any extensive development. Ireland has not gone ahead because the British Government has not permitted the expenditure of public money to develop the river and water courses so abundant throughout the island. In other sections of Europe and in the large centers of commerce and industry of the United States the important river and harbor frontage is controlled by railway companies. This is not true hereabouts at the present time, but it will be true unless we take care.

Here in New England we have the greatest chance that exists in any part of the world for successful inland waterway development. It is time that definite action be taken in regard to the reclaiming of the flats in East Boston and Dorchester Bay and the extension of the Taunton river and its tributaries, so as to make a complete connection between the Fore river and Taunton, and the development of the Newburyport and Mystic rivers and the waterways leading to the accessible centers in Maine.

When one visits Europe and sees evidence on every side of cities connected by artificial waterways rendered prosperous by the ease with which commerce is conducted, it makes one marvel that we are so laggard in this respect in our own country. It is therefore with the greatest pleasure that I commend the work of this body, and you may be sure that I will accord it every encouragement within my power.

THE FREE SCHOOL.

SPEECH AT TEACHERS' CONVENTION, JULY 4, 1910.

I am not an educator; I may not even be educated in any highly technical sense; yet in my official capacity I represent education as completely as any teacher in this gathering. The office which I have the honor to fill could not exist except among an intelligent and educated people. Education of the people implies government by the people. That is why tyrants have everywhere dreaded the free school, and why the free schoolhouse occupies a place in our affections second only to the charter of liberty itself. Upon its powerful influence we rely to prevent the return of tyranny and to maintain a just equilibrium in the state.

This circumstance, I think, explains why Boston has so often taken the lead in the field which you cultivate. If you pay a visit to Dorchester you will find there a tablet marking the site of one of the first free schools in America. Our city has also been the cradle of those ideas of self-government which are now accepted by a great part of the civilized world. Long before the Revolution our Puritan colonists had resented the royal yoke. During the last hundred years we have inaugurated more than one movement for the emancipation of men. Most of our great educators — Franklin, Quincy, Horace Mann, Walker, Eliot, Lowell — have taken an active interest in government in one or another of its phases. In a word, the ideals of democracy and popular education are so interwoven here that any conception except that of a free people, schooling all its children free, would be utterly foreign to our way of thinking.

The fruits of this temper you may have witnessed in the early days of your pilgrimage among us. You have doubtless seen schools of every description, public and

private, ranging from kindergarten to university. Their numbers and external appearances are impressive. Their enrollment includes every child up to the threshold of manhood and womanhood. Their teaching staff contains the flower of our population. Their courses of study are elastic and progressive, growing with the needs of the times, but never really departing from basic principles which have stood the test of experience. Their support is so generous that the cost of the public school system alone this year amounts to over six and a half millions, and constitutes the largest single item of our city budget.

You come, then, teachers of America, to a city predisposed in your favor and deeply interested in your labors. Your deliberations will be followed with eager sympathy, tempered and governed by critical understanding. Your calling is honored here as in few other communities. It is my privilege and my pleasure to speak for six hundred and fifty thousand citizens of Boston who, differ as they may on other subjects, are unanimous to-day in welcoming you to the warmest hospitality of this city.

THE FINANCE COMMISSION.

STATEMENT, AUGUST 18, 1910.

The communication from the Finance Commission does not seem worth much more than a passing comment. It is not such a judicial criticism as the law requires and the people expect from the Finance Commission. It is not a criticism. It is a political assault by men who have before charged me with the worst of crimes and who were but temporarily silenced by the verdict of the people at the last election. The gentlemen who comprise this commission are the appointees of a Republican Governor who is entering upon a doubtful political campaign, and this commission is only another device of Republican state machine politicians to harass and torture self-government in Boston. The belief is prevalent among this class of politicians that it is of advantage to them to poison the minds of the citizens of the state with the notion that Boston is the worst governed city in the world. They heap upon Boston unjust burdens of taxation and unjust abuse in order that they may hold the state through the prejudice thus incited against the commercial heart of the commonwealth and the party which ordinarily controls it.

It is because this attack of the Finance Commission is not made in good faith but for political purposes that I shall not permit myself to be drawn into a wrangle of which it is designed to be only the beginning. The citizens of Boston may feel assured that, whenever the Finance Commission or any other body of citizens makes any charge against me which ought to be denied or explained, both my sense of the right of my fellow-citizens to know the facts and my own sense of self-interest will require that I answer it. But I shall not be

drawn into squabbles with men whose real object is not what it appears. When the Republican state politicians want to exercise their ventriloquial powers they must do it at the expense of someone other than myself. The gentlemen of the Finance Commission sit on the knees of these men and seem to speak for themselves. But I have been behind the scenes and I know whence the voices come.

Before I drop the subject I want to make just one observation. The Mayor is responsible by law for the conduct of the departments. He is the chief executive officer, "and, as such executive officer, it shall be his duty to secure the honest, efficient and economical conduct of the entire executive and administrative business of the city and the harmonious and concerted action of the different departments." I have accepted the responsibility imposed upon the Mayor by the law and no man ever yet secured "harmonious and concerted action" in great departments filled with men who disliked him or had no faith in his capacity to administer the business of the city well. Whenever I find that, in the interest of the city, a loyal man who has faith in me is needed in the city government anywhere, I shall appoint such a man if he is otherwise competent.

I came into office after the city had been convulsed by the most violent campaign it had ever known, and after a princely fortune had been spent to disseminate just such caviling attacks as this upon me, and now I am accused of having changed less than a dozen officials in the largest corporation in New England! Those who are the head even of little corporations must smile as they read of this serious offence. Does anybody think that such a cavil is worth an answer?

MAINE'S OPPORTUNITY.

SPEECH AT LEWISTON, MAINE, SEPTEMBER 10, 1910.

The battle between the money power and the people, which has been imminent for many years, is about to be fought to a finish. It is idle to obscure the issue. The revelations of the past decennial have shown American people that it is the men who control our financial institutions and the big business enterprises who menace the freedom and prosperity of the country. For more than a quarter of a century they succeeded in fooling the American people, but now the searchlight has been turned on and it has exposed such rottenness in American finances as to startle the world. For years we have been told that the extraordinarily high duties imposed by Republican Congresses were necessary for the protection of American labor. Too many people believed these statements, made by the agents of greedy monopolists, with the result that we have raised a tremendous crop of millionaires and of misery. We have been misled day in and day out for fifteen years by men who, meeting together around a small table in the great city of New York, created fictitious values at the expense of the American people and demanded, as a right, the toil of millions to pay those unjustifiable dividends. The railroads of the country, which are capitalized for eighteen billion dollars, represent in actual value nine billion. In other words, nine billion of fictitious capitalization has been distributed among a few personal favorites, and ninety million of American people taxed to pay the dividends. Six per cent, the average rate paid upon the American railroad, means a tax of \$540,000,000 a year which the American people are compelled to pay over and above the just requirements. Our big United States Steel Trust,

which can sell its products cheaper abroad than it can to the American people, is capitalized for \$1,400,000,000; about \$600,000,000 represents the real investment. Eight hundred million dollars of value is created to be distributed amongst a few intimates while the American people at large are taxed to pay the dividend.

And our express companies! Every large civilized country in the world has a parcels post system. The United States is the single exception. Though there is a deficit amounting to millions of dollars a year through the establishment of a rural mail delivery, no attempt to establish a parcels post system operated through these carriers has yet been successful. Theodore Roosevelt, our great reformer, though in Washington seven years, and knowing that it was the express companies of the United States which made impossible the passage of this legislation, never made the dramatic appeal to the conscience of the American people that he is doing at the present time. The Sherman law was on the statute books at the time and could have been enforced. Some of those men could have been jailed, and should have been jailed if our strenuous President had been as sincere in his efforts in office as he is in his efforts for office. Only a short while ago the earnings of one of these companies were so enormous that the directors were afraid to let them be known to the American people and an adjustment was made by giving every stockholder two additional shares for every one held, a dividend of 200 per cent. Postmaster General Wanamaker said: "There are four reasons why America has no parcels post system — 1st, The Adams Express Company; 2d, The American Express Company; 3d, The United States Express Company, and 4th, The Wells Fargo Express Company."

The sugar trust is another example. The little joker in the Payne-Aldrich bill, which President Taft has described as the best tariff law ever made, takes fifty millions a year out of the American consumers. Though comparatively little of the sugar used by the people of the United States is produced in this country, sugar

costs the people of the United States twice as much as it does the people of Europe.

The cotton and woolen factories here in New England are tremendously over-capitalized. It is laughable to hear the manufacturers of these great corporations rebel against the action of the Legislature in reducing the number of hours on the ground that the mills in New England cannot compete successfully with Southern mills if shorter hours are compelled by law. Many mills in New England have paid out in dividends in a few years vastly more than the amount of the original capitalization; at the same time it is a matter of public record that the wages of the average employee are only \$7.50 per week, and that many children are employed and paid only \$3 a week.

It is this enormous over-capitalization and watering of stocks that is directly responsible for the high cost of living, notwithstanding the statement of Senator Lodge to the contrary. Practically every industry in the country which could stand capitalization has been taken over in the past few years by banking syndicates. Properties having an actual value of a few hundred thousand dollars, paying 12 or 15 or 20 per cent, have been capitalized on the basis of 5 or 6 or 7 per cent. The result is that the apparent wealth of the United States in industrial and commercial and business enterprises is capitalized at more than the real wealth, and the American people are taxed to pay the difference. Only a short while ago the Fifth Avenue Bank of New York declared a regular quarterly dividend of 25 per cent and a special dividend of 130 per cent. This extra dividend is not the largest ever authorized by this bank. For more than eight years the average disbursement to stockholders has been something like 250 per cent, and though the par value of its stock is \$100, the stock has recently sold as high as \$4,500 a share. This is only a single instance, and is not only true of bank stocks but of many cotton and woolen mills and other forms of industry. How unjust this over-capitalization is

to the average cotton operative and woolen operative here in Lewiston can be seen in the fact that wages here, as in every other big manufacturing center, are presumably based upon the ability of the companies to pay reasonable dividends. When a dividend of 6 per cent is asked for by the stockholders, based upon an honest valuation, the operatives should be willing, and are willing I know, to meet the demand in a spirit of fair play and equity, but when 6 per cent dividends means 6 per cent upon millions of capital which has never been invested it is the rankest kind of injustice.

The time has come, therefore, when the American people must assert their spirit over the few men who have hitherto drafted legislation, determined the decision in many of our courts, and even disposed of the enormous wealth of the country in whatever manner seemed best suited to their own selfish purposes. Drastic action against the tyranny of these men is the necessity of the hour.

Never will there be such action by the Republican party. All the protests against the execution of the present Payne-Aldrich tariff by the Republican insurgents were hopeless and will be hopeless. Speaker Cannon is supreme in his own district, and though there is little likelihood of his return to the speakership because the Congress is Democratic, yet he will dominate the Republican minority, and hold the whip hand, so that no legislation except that which is friendly to the entrenched wealth of the country can be successful. Here in Maine you have the opportunity to judge the power of the Republican machine. It has held the state steadily in its clutches for years, and has been run mainly in the interests of the wealthy men. President Roosevelt, with all his talk about corruption, never lifted his finger in Washington to reduce expenses in framing a proper tariff bill or to punish the big criminals. What reason have we to expect any different course from him or those in the battle with him? He stands for his close personal friend, Senator Lodge, who is a

staunch advocate of the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill. Yet he must realize, if he knows anything about the public record of Henry Cabot Lodge, that he is pleading for the return of a man to the United States Senate for six years who, day in and day out, has stood for a system of government which has made a few fabulously rich while compelling millions to labor incessantly for enough to keep body and soul together.

There is no help for the evil situation into which we have been brought by the Republican party. It must be, as it has been for so long, the enemy of the people and the friend of privilege. To you, men of Maine, it is given to sound the tocsin for the country. Let it be the first blow to the money power and the first victory for justice and the people.

REFUSAL OF NOMINATION FOR GOVERNOR.

STATEMENT ISSUED SEPTEMBER 26, 1910.

Men have been kind enough to tell me that I ought to stand for governor. The publicity given to this suggestion has caused an unexpected and an embarrassing activity among my friends throughout the state. It has tended to confuse the situation. Local Democratic leaders have told me that the doubt whether I would permit myself to become a candidate has disturbed alignments and postponed decisions in different localities.

It will not be wise to allow this condition to continue. The Democrats to-morrow will choose the delegates who at the coming state convention will nominate the Democratic candidate for governor. So great is the probability that the Democrats at this convention will be able to elect the next governor, if they select their candidate wisely, that it seems to me of the greatest importance to make their task as easy and as simple as possible. Eliminating every unavailable candidate is one way to simplify the problem of selecting our candidate for governor. I am keenly conscious of the great opportunity which is afforded me to lead the Democrats to victory in the state this year, and no one would appreciate the honor more than I; but on reflection it does not seem to me that I ought to lay down the task in Boston which my city so recently put in my hands, and which is still so far from complete. Therefore, I must ask the Democrats of the state not to consider my candidacy.

UNEARNED INCREMENT.

OCTOBER 4, 1910.

DEAR SIR,— Among the parcels of real estate comprising the property of the late Andreas Tomfohrde occur the buildings at 37-41, 45-47 and 51 Court street, with the land attached thereto. Investigation reveals a striking though not unusual state of affairs in connection with this property. The value of the land alone increased in twenty years from \$238,000 to \$695,100, an increase of \$457,100, or nearly 200 per cent. In the meantime the building, either through neglect or from natural depreciation, decreased in value \$42,100, or in round numbers 60 per cent.

This fortunate investor is reported to have made no public bequests, yet he owed every dollar of this added value to the public. He displayed no intellectual or moral quality in acquiring it, and rendered no form of service. His only talent was to purchase and to keep. Meanwhile, the growth of population, the ever swelling tides of travel and of trade, the expenditure of the public money on pavements, sidewalks, lights and fire and police protection, the building of a great court house on Pemberton square — in a word, all the multifold activities of the community at large — increased and enhanced the value of his estate and would have enhanced it equally if its owner had been some absentee landlord instead of a restaurant keeper doing business on the premises.

Of this huge unearned increment of value the owner returned each year about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in taxes. The inadequacy of this return does not require any special argument. Since ordinary processes of taxation fail in such cases, the question arises whether some method should not be devised for returning to the public, which creates it, a larger fraction of the increase of value.

Under the present system individuals are virtually permitted to tax the people and too often, as in the instance cited, such individuals die without any fulfillment and perhaps without any recognition of their social obligations.

The spectacle of unimproved buildings on land, every inch of which has its appreciable value, is all too common in the older portions of Boston now dedicated to trade and commerce. In all such instances the natural relations are reversed. The community is not served but serves; the owner merely waits and profits by waiting. This practice should as far as possible be discouraged by law, in interest not only of justice but of social progress.

I respectfully ask your permission to consider some plan by which a larger fraction of the increased value of land may go to the community, at least when this increase assumes abnormal proportions, and failing this, the owner may be compelled to maintain some minimum ratio of value between their land and the buildings erected upon it. While the subject is a difficult and abstruse one, conditions are becoming so acute that some form of relief would seem to be required.

HON. JOHN A. SULLIVAN, *Chairman of the Finance Commission.*

THE NEW ENGLAND CHURCH.

AT THE CONGREGATIONAL CONFERENCE, OCTOBER
10, 1910.

I take great pleasure in extending the hospitalities of the City of Boston to the delegates to the Congregational Conference, representing, I am informed, six hundred thousand enrolled members throughout the country and no fewer than six thousand ordained clergymen. In greeting you I feel that I am welcoming the descendants of the pilgrims of Plymouth and the first settlers of Boston, retaining no little of their doctrines and most of their church polity. Such concessions as you have made to modern taste in the enrichment of your ceremonies, and in the adoption of a form of fellowship which faintly suggests the more elaborate organization of the older churches, do not make you any the less the lineal heirs of Bradford and Brewster, of Endicott and Winthrop.

In other words, there is something distinctive of Boston and New England in your churches. If I mistake not, your influence has spread over the country with the tide of migration from this section and wherever the New England blood is to be found, there, in a greater or less degree, are seen the spires of what the old-fashioned people used to call the orthodox churches. In coming back to Boston you come to the cradle of your origin, to a city many of whose most distinguished names, both of clergymen and of laymen, have been enrolled in your membership.

Early New England, as you know far better than I, was almost a pure theocracy. The functions of church and state overlapped and the clergyman was a civic as well as a religious leader. Perhaps it is the spirit of this tradition that makes your pulpits so often resound with

eloquent discourses upon purely civic affairs. I am not one of those who believe that this tendency should be condemned, as long as the comment is governed by the spirit of fairness and criticism is tempered with a decent recognition of the good deeds that are occasionally performed even by public men with whom we disagree.

It is possible to differ with a man and still respect him, probably because beyond and around the area of difference there remains a wide margin of agreement. You and I have more in common than some of our ancestors were prone to believe. We have all inherited the ethics of Christianity and a good part of its doctrines. Your invitation to me this evening and my cordial acceptance of it shows that the rifts of disagreement need not necessarily widen into a hopeless gulf of distrust and misunderstanding. It is possible for both of us in different ways to serve the needs of society and to fulfill the will of our Maker. Times have changed since Endicott in his fiery zeal cut the cross out of the British flag because of his hatred of Rome. The modern Endicott counts a journey to the seat of Christendom and an audience with the head of the ancient church as one of the most memorable incidents of his life, while, on the other hand, a Catholic Mayor is called to welcome in Tremont Temple the descendants and followers of those who, whether "nation seed or gospel seed the more," have emblazoned their names in letters of gold upon the history of our common country.

I wish you all a most pleasant stay in Boston and a most successful convention.

LOSS OF A STEAMSHIP LINE.

OCTOBER 18, 1910.

DEAR SIR,— A recent item in the Boston papers conveys the intelligence that the steamers "Harvard" and "Yale," formerly plying between New York and Boston in the service of the Metropolitan Steamship Company, have been sold to a company which intends to run them between San Francisco and Los Angeles and that they have started, or are about to start, on the fourteen-thousand mile journey around Cape Horn to the former port. These vessels supplemented admirably the transportation facilities between New York and Boston and provided a most delightful voyage for persons desiring to make the trip by night. They were also the means of carrying a considerable volume of freight to and from these cities, and that their loss will be felt the coming season is obvious. I would respectfully inquire whether the Chamber of Commerce has taken any steps to interest capital in a similar line of steamships which would take the place of these vessels.

Unless I am greatly misinformed the investment was by no means an unprofitable one, and it would seem that there might be sufficient local capital, the owners of which would be actuated by local patriotism as well as keen business sense, to furnish substitutes for them.

BERNARD J. ROTHWELL, ESQ., *President Chamber of Commerce.*

DEFENDING FRANKLIN PARK ZOO.

NOVEMBER 8, 1910.

GENTLEMEN,— Your letter of November 5, addressed to me as Mayor, copies of which have been furnished to the Press, calls for an expression of opinion upon the important issues which you have raised. Permit me to take them up *seriatim* and supplement your observations by the relation of certain facts which do not seem to have been brought to your attention.

You express surprise that the representatives of the Massachusetts Zoological Society, who had requested the Legislature for funds to establish a zoo at Middlesex Fells and had previously favored a location in the Fells, acting on the advice of Mr. W. T. Hornaday, Director of the New York Zoological Garden, should have lent themselves to the project for establishing a zoological garden in Franklin Park. You are, perhaps, unaware that the proposition to use the Middlesex Fells had been practically abandoned because the private subscriptions offered for this purpose amounted to only a few thousand dollars and there seemed to be no immediate prospect of collecting the substantial sum needed for the creation of a worthy institution. Moreover, the distance of the Fells from Boston constitutes a disadvantage as compared with the readiness of access of Franklin Park, which is only a short ride from the homes of the great majority of our citizens. The fact that the society and Mr. Hornaday abandoned a project which is not likely to be realized for many years, and availed themselves of the opportunity which was created by the bequest of Mr. Parkman, should not be regarded as a fatal inconsistency.

A special reason for placing the zoological garden in Franklin Park is found in the lack of patronage of the

park. Although the original cost of Franklin Park was about four million dollars, and the annual maintenance charge is about sixty thousand dollars, it is frequented for only a comparatively short season, and except on Sundays does not seem to attract any large numbers of people. One may walk through its paths and over its meadows any pleasant summer morning and encounter only a handful of straggling visitors. This neglect is due, in the opinion of good judges, to the lack of human interest, of live attractions which would form a definite objective for the people at large. At present the park appeals chiefly to those who go there to play games, like tennis, golf and baseball, lovers of pure landscape not being as common as they might be among people whose lives are spent far from nature and natural scenery. In adding the zoological garden with its groups of graceful or curious live creatures the city would only be carrying out and amplifying the conception of the designer of the park, Mr. Olmsted, whose original plans allotted the space selected by the Park Commissioners and their experts for a zoological garden to a deer park. As for the aquarium at Marine Park, this seems to me peculiarly appropriate on account of the pre-eminence of Boston as a seaport and fishing center.

In your strictures upon the existing parks, many of which you say have been repeatedly declared a disgrace to the City of Boston, I find a lack of definiteness. While the condition of some of these parks is not all that could be desired, it does not seem to me that the uncharitable language of your letter is justified by the conditions as I have observed them.

Moreover, the anxiety which you express as to the possible exhaustion of the income of the fund by the use of a portion of it for the creation of an aquarium and zoological garden, ignores the magnitude of the fund itself. The income upon five million dollars, which is in round numbers the amount of the bequest, comes to something like two hundred thousand dollars a year, or two million dollars in every decade. The estimated

cost of the zoological garden, the Greeting, and the aquarium, is about six hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Even if the entire income of the fund were devoted to this purpose in the immediate future, the fund would be free for other purposes in a little over three years. By using only a portion of it each year the aquarium and zoological garden could be gradually brought into existence and the remainder of the fund devoted to general improvement purposes such as you suggest. This, I believe, is the better plan, since it not only leaves some portion of the fund for other projects, but provides for the gradual adaptation of the plans for the aquarium and zoological garden to circumstances as they arise. It would appear, then, that the difference between your point of view and that of the Park Commissioners, as set forth in their report, is not an irreconcilable one.

TO UNITED IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, 8 Beacon Street, Boston.

WATERWAYS.

FEBRUARY 8, 1911.

DEAR SIR,— His Excellency Governor Foss in his inaugural message emphasized the need of waterways in the following words: "The State must also take immediate steps to outline and construct a system of waterways and canals to supplement the railways, so that raw materials may be secured to our industries at the lowest possible cost." Acting upon this suggestion the Committee of the General Court on Harbors and Public Lands advertised a hearing at the State House for February 3, at half past ten, expecting a large representation of the commercial interests upon this important issue. The results seem to prove either that the commercial organizations of this section are not alive to the importance of the creation of a system of intra-coastal canals or that they are unaware of the progress which has been made by the engineering division of the United States War Department in preparing plans for such a system. Only two or three persons attended this hearing, which was continued until Wednesday, February 15. Previously communications had been received from Lieut.-Col. J. S. Sanford, attached to the United States Engineer's Office at Newport, R. I., and from Col. Frederic V. Abbot, of the United States Engineer's Office located in Boston, requesting the appropriate department of the city government of Boston to answer a somewhat complicated series of questions relating to the prospective advantages of these proposed waterways to Boston and the contiguous territory. After consultation with the Acting City Engineer, now the Commissioner of Public Works, it has seemed to me doubtful whether the studies that would be required for comprehensive answers to this schedule of questions would properly come within

the functions of any municipal department and whether the city would be justified in employing an outside engineer to prepare a statement which might be given forth with the official sanction of the municipal government. At the same time I have been impressed with the need of these waterways and have personally attended conventions at Washington and at Providence, at which I took occasion to recommend their rapid development along the entire eastern seaboard of the country for purposes of protection in time of war as well as of commercial relief.

Occupying, as Massachusetts does, a situation somewhat remote from the sources of supply for the raw materials used in her industries, she should certainly look with favor upon any measures calculated to reduce freight rates at present placing her at a disadvantage with the growing competition from other sections of the country. Unless the business interests identify themselves with this movement for intra-coastal waterways there seems to be no hope of realizing what has been for a hundred years the dream of far-sighted students of our commercial history and prospects.

An interview given by Colonel Abbot on the day of the abortive hearing before the Harbors and Public Lands Committee gave expression to his own feeling as to the apathy displayed by the business organizations of Boston upon the question, and intimated that unless some interest could be aroused among persons who would benefit most signally by these improvements, the whole scheme would probably be abandoned by the United States Government.

I have thought it timely, therefore, to lay the whole situation before your body and to transmit to you the communications from Lieutenant-Colonel Sanford and Colonel Abbot for such action as may seem to you appropriate. Even if time is lacking for the compilation of thoroughly studied replies to the questions propounded by the United States Engineers, a general argument in favor of the canals might be prepared by those of your

members who may be particularly interested in this topic and who may have given it some prior thought. Such a report would serve the purpose of proclaiming to the national authorities the keen interest which an organization like the Chamber of Commerce must certainly take in this question and dispelling the impression that commercial Boston looks with indifference upon a proposition which carries so much promise of relief and benefit to her industries and those of the tributary territory.

I respectfully submit, therefore, these communications in the hope that the whole subject may be taken up by the Chamber of Commerce and that so promising a scheme of development may not be allowed to expire through want of cooperation among the different units interested in it, and a consequent dissipation of the forces which, properly united and controlled by adequate leadership, might carry it to a successful issue.

GEORGE S. SMITH, ESQ., *President Chamber of Commerce.*

GREEK UNION.

AT PAN-HELLENIC MEETING, FEBRUARY 17, 1911.

Boston, which is proud of its title of the "Athens of America," has been glad to count among its citizens during the past twenty years a number of representatives of that glorious people among whom ancient Athens was the center of culture and civilization. While the Greeks of Boston have been few in numbers, several of them are already counted as typical Bostonians. It is a pleasure and an honor to me, therefore, to come to this hall to-night and meet a gathering of men whose ancestry is perhaps, from a racial point of view, the most distinguished in the world.

Certainly no people ever left nobler landmarks in the places which they inhabited, or ever scattered more fertile germs of thought among the other nations of the earth. The age of Pericles and Socrates marked in the opinion of many judges the highest level of average intelligence that has ever been reached during the period of recorded history. In the arts, especially in architecture and sculpture, in the drama, in history, in philosophy, in oratory, and even in science, the names of the great figures of that period still shine on the world's roll of honor and their thought has resisted the rusting process of age, so that many of them still seem as modern as our own contemporaries.

What an illustration of the irony of fate that this gifted people, in the vicissitudes of its history, should have come under the domination of an Asiatic race, whose undeniable virtues are rather those of splendid barbarism than of a fully developed and civilized people. An Alexander could penetrate almost to the borders of India, founding kingdoms on the way and planting even on the shores of the Nile a lesser Greece, which, in the

decline of the mother country, perpetuated its culture and ideals; but the sturdy people that had resisted the hordes of Xerxes and Darius, weakened perhaps by the rule of the Roman legions, yielded at length to the overpowering might of those later swarms whose emblem was the crescent and whose weapon was the scimitar.

The Greece we visit to-day is a scene of desolation, where the tyrant has everywhere left his imprint in ruined cities and shattered temples. The exquisitely wrought metopes of the Parthenon have been used as slabs to make a modern wall, and at times it would seem as though the very descendants of Leonidas and Miltiades had forgotten the glories of their ancestry. But the vital spark of patriotism still lives and in the past century was blown into a flame which burned away the last vestiges of foreign domination and made of the Greeks once more a free and united people.

To the war of liberation Boston sent among others its superb citizen, Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, whose name has become personally associated with Greece through the marriage of his daughter to the Greek patriot and philanthropist, his successor in the Superintendency of the Perkins Institution for the Blind, the late Michael Anagnos.

To-day Greece enjoys its own government and holds a place among the free nations of Europe. But this is true only of the Hellenic peninsula. On the outlying islands of the Ægean and Mediterranean seas are branches of the Greek people, separated from their brethren by subjection to an alien rule. Among these the Cretans for many years have excited the compassion of lovers of liberty, not only because of their sufferings and strenuous resistance but because of the admirable part which Crete played in the early development of Greek civilization. Lying midway between Hellas and the ancient monarchies bordering upon the modern Levant, Crete was the stepping stone for the progress of civilization from Egypt and Phœnicia to the European continent. Recent excavations have revealed the

wonders of its early culture and disclosed the island as the seat of a flourishing population, with numerous cities all maintained at the highest level of Grecian progress.

The spectacle of such a people with such a tradition, bound against their will to a despotism which they must necessarily regard as inferior in type, aroused the sympathies of the other nations of Europe, and by an agreement among the great powers Crete, some dozen years ago, was placed under the protectorate of Great Britain, France and Russia. But the spirit of liberty is never satisfied with halfway concessions, and the Cretans are still appealing to the sense of justice of the world for release from their anomalous status and a return to full union with the Greeks of the mainland, who are their kindred in blood and religion.

To us Bostonians, rebels ourselves and the heirs of the most successful rebellion that the world ever knew, the appeal of such a people is irresistible, and as Mayor of the city I can do no less than assure you that my personal sympathies, and I believe those of most of my fellow citizens, are extended to the struggling Cretans in their efforts at reunion with the kingdom of Greece.

Unless the hands of the clock of progress are turned backward once more, I feel confident that this reunion will be brought about and the people of Crete placed once more in an environment in which they can develop their own individuality.

America has never in the past hesitated to extend a welcome to patriots striving for freedom and to send messages of sympathy to those of other lands, who are merely repeating the incidents and episodes of our own early history.

I trust that your campaign will be crowned with success and I know that the news of your victory, flashed over the wires, will send a thrill of sympathy not only through the colony of Greeks and Cretans among us in Boston, but among those of our own people who are still true to the maxims and convictions of the fathers of this country.

HOME RULE.

NORTHAMPTON, MARCH 17, 1911.

This is an auspicious moment to celebrate the national holiday of the Irish people. Through seven hundred years of struggle they have proved their vitality, not alone by individual examples of splendid virtue, but by united action in support of a coherent and progressive program. Their conquest is a victory of the highest order, in that it implies not merely brute superiority in numbers and in strength, but a conversion of the foe to the ideal which they have always opposed. The "Home Rule" bill, which is about to grant to Ireland substantial independence similar to that enjoyed by Canada and the other provinces of the British Empire, can only be passed through the House of Commons by the votes of Englishmen and Scotchmen, and to this extent it represents the will of the English people yielding to the forces of moral persuasion which their better natures could no longer resist. In the very act of granting self-government to Ireland they have acknowledged the error of their past refusals and have conceded to the Irish people the qualities necessary for the exercise of this right, which misguided English politicians and historians have too often denied them.

But these incidents have a broader significance than attaches to a mere chapter in the history of a single race. As the frontiersman who defends his home against savage assailants is a bulwark of the civilization which advances in his wake, so the people of Ireland, doing battle against odds to preserve their own identity, have fought for all humanity as well as for themselves. It is no accident that the passage of a home rule bill coincides with the imminent fall of the British House of Lords. The same deep lying sentiment dominating the English people

with one hand lifts Ireland from its humble seat to a position of dignity and of promise, and with the other lays low the insolence of the peers, who have been the traditional opponents of every movement for the expansion of human liberty and the happiness of the people. What better proof that the cause of Ireland and that of the English Democracy is the same than the perpetual opposition of the titled aristocracy of Great Britain to both. When the history of this epoch-making event is written, historians cannot fail to credit the fall of the House of Lords, in great part, to the Irish party in the Commons. Ireland, in a word, has been the slender and ever-youthful David who has laid low this haughty Goliath.

It is of course an accident, but a highly felicitous one, that the day on which we honor the patron saint of Ireland is the anniversary of the evacuation of Boston by the British troops, one hundred and thirty-five years ago. Just as the cause of Ireland is essentially that of the English people and has contained in itself, unrecognized perhaps, the germ of a liberal and humane program, applicable to all the races of the world, so the American revolution was in some of its aspects a conflict between two elements of the British nation rather than a revolt of thirteen united colonies against a mother country equally united in resisting their claims. America had its Tories and England its Liberals, and then as now the implacable enemy of progress was the English House of Lords. The costly victory at Bunker Hill and the final surrender at Yorktown paved the way for the reform bills in the House of Commons, and all that movement towards the extension of the suffrage and the recognition of the rights of the common man, which has drawn the English people to-day to the very forefront of the democratic movement in Europe and the world. By a natural gravitation of ideas the two greatest events in American history—the revolution, which established the nation as an independent entity and the emancipation of the slaves, which removed a

destructive cancer from its vitals — attracted the sympathetic attention of the two Irishmen who tower above all other public men of their race. Burke's speech on conciliation outlined a policy which, if it had been pursued, might have altered the current of history and enunciated clearly his sympathy with the ideals for which the American patriots were striving; and O'Connell stood shoulder to shoulder with Wilberforce in those early divisions in the House of Commons when the number of courageous spirits who dared to take sides against the slave owners on behalf of the oppressed black men in the British dominion could be counted almost on the fingers of one hand. In a word, the great liberal minded men have known no boundaries of race or geographical distinction, but have drawn upon the common treasury of ideas and principles which is the heritage of enlightened men and women the world over.

The most ardent believer in the cause of Ireland can well afford to welcome this prospect of the healing of old wounds, and I am sure that the first to rejoice in this manner will be those who have themselves received wounds in the cause of their mother land. Now that we have wrung our doom from the ancient oppressor we can afford to write the history of the past in a tolerant and forgiving spirit for the perusal of our children, who, happily, will inherit only the echoes of this ancient feud. With all their divisions and discords, Ireland and England have much in common. Their literatures fuse and coalesce through the medium of a common tongue. Their soldiers have fought with valor against savage and civilized foes, and the red flag whose boast it is that the sun never sets upon it was carried to the uttermost bounds of the earth by soldiers, many of whom in their hearts paid secret allegiance to the harp-embroidered green banner of Erin. The Irishman will not cease to be what he is by conceding the sturdy virtues of the English people, and the Saxon might well crave a dash of Irish fervor and brilliancy to leaven his own heavier good qualities.

FIRE CONDITIONS.

LETTER SENT TO VARIOUS PUBLIC BODIES,
MARCH 29, 1911.

GENTLEMEN,—Recent occurrences in New York and Boston have revealed the necessity of a systematic canvass of the city for the discovery of unsafe building conditions. The Building, Fire and Police Departments are able to do a great deal to protect the lives and property of citizens, but they cannot always cope with the ingenuity, indifference and ignorance of certain property owners. So much risk is involved in this matter that every private citizen should be willing to assist the authorities in their efforts to prevent the holocausts which have so often marred the records of American cities.

The immediate question is not the framing of new laws which shall guarantee a higher degree of safety, but of the conflict of two elements, one seeking to enforce and the other to evade the laws as they now exist. The best way for right minded people to contribute to the general safety is by promptly reporting the street and number of every building which seems to afford legitimate ground for apprehension.

I respectfully ask that you endeavor to interest the membership of your society in this subject and that you favor me with the results of your observation, whether of general or particular conditions. By so doing you will manifest a high degree of good citizenship, and will perhaps bring to the attention of the Fire Commissioner and the Building Department incidents of careless or illegal construction which might otherwise escape attention.

A STATE FINANCE COMMISSION.
AT THE ROCKLAND BOARD OF TRADE, APRIL 25, 1911.

I am somewhat astonished to find any objection to the appointment of a State Finance Commission. It seems odd that the Republican leaders who were so very anxious to give extraordinary powers to the Finance Commission which investigated Boston's affairs a few years ago should hesitate to give a like authority to a state board. Is it the same old story over again? When I first proposed a Finance Commission in Boston every Republican member of the City Council voted against the proposition, and then attempted to claim the credit for the work done by the commission. There is certainly more need for a Finance Commission throughout the state than there ever was for the City of Boston. When we find municipalities with debts outstanding for which no sinking funds are being accumulated; when we find loans from banks or individuals obtained chiefly on demand notes; when we find the principal of trust funds being borrowed and used; when we find funds given to the cities and towns for the perpetual care of lots in the cemeteries being used for other purposes; when we find state highways, which last but five years on an average, being built with money borrowed for a term of forty years; when we find twenty different purchasing agents for twenty different institutions in the same city instead of one central purchasing agent; when we find no audited bills in many institutions; when we find contracts awarded without competitive bidding; when we find the lowest bidder ignored when such bidding does take place; when we find different prices being paid for the same article in different institutions, it seems to me that it is time for the appointment of a Board which shall have the authority to investigate conditions all

over the state and apply the proper remedy. Every city in the Commonwealth at the present time borrows money for the paving of its highways except Boston; many cities, if we are to believe the statements in the inaugural addresses of the Mayors, are borrowing money for public celebrations, for the payment of school teachers, and for various other purposes which should be met out of the tax levy. In fact, the situation is such in many cities and towns in the state now that it is impossible for officials to give an honest statement of the financial condition of the municipality. The citizens of Rockland ought to insist that their local representatives stand behind the Governor and the Commonwealth in demanding the passage of legislation which will give the Governor the power to appoint a Board of five men, with full and complete powers, to put the financial affairs of the state and the cities and towns in the state on a proper basis; to recommend legislation which will make it impossible to borrow money for current expenses; which will require cities and towns when borrowing money to provide a proper sinking fund basis, and to organize the business of the city on a sound basis.

MORTMAIN.

SPECIAL ARTICLE, MAY 4, 1911.

Seven hundred years ago, at the time of the Magna Charta, England found it necessary to make laws to prevent land from getting into the hands of those who would withdraw it from development and sale. These were called the Statutes of Mortmain, meaning laws against the *dead hand*.

The condition of business in Boston at the present time is very much like the situation which caused the revolt in older countries leading to these statutes against the *dead hand*. Boston has been put to sleep by our foolish tax laws. They have forced the great body of Boston trustees to invest in the shares of our railroads, national banks and Massachusetts corporations. These trustees hold hundreds of millions of dollars, the accumulations of dead and gone Bostonians. Try to do business with them and you will find their rule of conduct to be, as one of their number has wittily said: "First, the safety of the trustee, second, the convenience of the trustee; third, the commissions of the trustee."

Our banks, our railroads, our street railways, our mills, our wharves, all bear the weight of the heavy *dead hand* of the trustee, who cares nothing for development, but only for his fixed income. The Boston & Albany, for instance, was once in their control, a prospering railroad, but getting behind the times. Did they renew rails, put on new cars, buy heavier locomotives? No, indeed! That might have meant going without a few dividends temporarily. Instead of this they jumped at an offer from the New York Central to take the property off their hands and continue their income without interruption. They were indifferent to the future business of the road and of the port of Boston. They

wanted a sure thing. The Boston & Albany lease was the direct result of the *dead hand*.

They parted in the same way with the Boston & Lowell, Boston & Providence, the Eastern, and Fitchburg. It was so much easier to get a fixed return by lease without bothering about the management.

Among the chiefs of the hierarchy of the *dead hand* are two whose power and influence may be seen from the following lists of companies in which they are officers:

A.

Boston Pier or the Long Wharf, President and Treasurer.
 Boston Real Estate Trust, Trustee.
 Boston & Providence Railroad, Director.
 Boylston Market Association, Director.
 Commercial Wharf Company, President and Director.
 Department Store Trust, Trustee.
 Fifty Associates, Director.
 Lewis Wharf Company, President and Director.
 Midland Realty Company, Treasurer, Secretary and Director.
 Otis Company, Director.
 Pepperell Manufacturing Company, Director.
 Proprietors of Rowe's Wharf, President and Director.
 Social Law Library, Trustee.

B.

American Bell Telephone Company, Director.
 American Telephone and Telegraph Company, Director.
 Battery Wharf Store Company, Treasurer and Director.
 Board of Trade Building Trust, Trustee.
 Boston Personal Property Trust, Trustee.
 Boston Water Power Company, Director and Trustee.
 Boston Wharf Company, Vice-President and Director.
 Brauer Building Trust, Trustee.
 Brookline Riverdale Land Association, Trustee.
 Business Real Estate Trust, Trustee.
 Central Wharf and Wet Dock Corporation, President and Director.
 Conveyancers Title Insurance Company, Director.
 Copley Square Trust, Trustee.
 Fitchburg Railroad, President and Director.

Massachusetts General Hospital, Trustee.
 Merchants Real Estate Trust, Trustee.
 Merchants Warehouse Company, President and Director.
 Municipal Real Estate Trust, Trustee.
 National Shawmut Bank, Director.
 Park Square Real Estate Trust, Trustee.
 Pemberton Building Trust, Trustee.
 Real Estate Exchange and Auction Board, Vice-President.
 State Street Trust Company, President and Director.
 Summer Street Trust, Trustee.
 Trimountain Trust, Trustee.
 West End Street Railway Company, Director.
 Western Real Estate Trust, Trustee.
 Western Telegraph and Telephone Company, Director.

Note their control of wharf property: A is president of the Boston Pier, president of the Commercial Wharf Company, president of the Lewis Wharf Company, president of the Proprietors of Rowe's Wharf. B is treasurer of the Battery Wharf Store Company, vice-president of the Boston Wharf Company, president of the Central Wharf and Wet Dock Corporation.

How much development of that important part of Boston harbor which is covered by these properties can be expected from these trustees. None whatever. To their minds a 3 per cent income from second or third class commerce is better than taking any shadow of risk. Trustees cannot afford to take risks. Their natural position is that of lenders of money to the more venturesome and progressive. But our tax laws have forced them out of this position into the position of owners and managers of industries and the vehicles of our trade and commerce. If our tax laws can be changed to allow the *dead hand* to resume its normal and proper function, figuring interest, then the activities of the city will naturally and surely come into the hands of other owners, who will have as their motive in owning and managing them the hope of such profit as will follow their improvement and development to the point

where they can successfully compete with other great centers of industry and commerce.

Our mercantile real estate suffers perhaps more than commercial property. Analyze conditions in the retail business district between Boylston, School, Washington and Tremont streets. How many new buildings have been erected within twenty-five years. Not one a year. What a commentary on the progressiveness of this city.

Some members of the Chamber of Commerce have been endeavoring to raise one million dollars to inaugurate steamship service between Boston and Texas. Not one banking house has lifted its finger to aid. Millions can be raised for questionable mining enterprises, but a single million for a business enterprise which will add to our commerce and bring happiness to many homes cannot be found.

If Boston could disinherit about twenty-five men who have their hands clutched about the throat of commercial and industrial Boston, this city would attain a growth in the next ten years almost unbelievable.

FIRE HAZARD BILL DEFEAT.

STATEMENT, MAY 12, 1911.

It is with the utmost regret that I have learned of the defeat of the Fire Hazard Bill by a majority so overwhelming as to leave me stunned with amazement. I cannot believe that the legislators who so lightly put aside this opportunity to strengthen the building laws of Boston realized the grave peril in which we are living. Certainly there was nothing in the history of the bill or in its support that could have aroused their suspicion. Acting on the advice of city officials entrusted with grave responsibilities in the protection of life and property and on the results of my own observation, I appointed a committee in which all interests were represented. It contained an architect, a real estate expert, a builder, and delegates from the Carpenters' District Council, the Board of Fire Underwriters and the Civic League. The measure drafted by this committee was regarded as extremely moderate, as it was felt that to attempt too much would be to endanger the prospects of the whole scheme. It was made contingent upon acceptance by the Boston City Council, and those who know the temper of that body must agree that if there were any sound objections to the bill the objectors would have been granted a fair hearing. Its provisions relate to matters upon which there is really no disagreement among thinking students of the question, such as non-combustible roofs, open spaces between buildings, the erection of fire-proof party walls, and the restriction of floor areas. It was known that the lumber interests would oppose the bill, but their hand was so veiled and their operations so stealthy that until the last moment its advocates indulged a hope of final success.

What the Legislature has done is to yield to the per-

suasions of a special interest, guarding its own profits and perquisites as against the security of the population of a great city. How short-sighted they were may be seen from the oft-repeated comparison of fire losses in Boston and in other American cities as compared with those abroad. The average per capita loss in a city like Berlin or Vienna is only one-eighth of that in Boston, a discrepancy which is truly staggering and which is due absolutely to the difference in the building laws, a difference which this conservative measure would in some degree have reduced. The Chelsea fire seemed a disaster of almost national scope and interest, and yet every five years or so the fire losses in Boston aggregate the loss on that one occasion. It has been pointed out that every half decade we burn up a value equivalent to the cost of all the church buildings in the city.

Above and beyond the direct loss from fire our characteristic American recklessness brings other penalties. The cost of the Fire Department, for example, in Boston is huge as compared with that of any continental city of the same size. We employ as many men, roughly speaking, and maintain as elaborate apparatus as London, which has ten times our population. The insurance rates also mount in proportion to the extent of the fire losses, and as this burden is distributed every insured person must bear his share. The type of building legislated against not only constitutes a bad fire risk; it is one which is undesirable in other respects. The fire hazard bill which has been defeated would have conduced to a finer style of architecture and made the city to that extent more attractive and habitable as well as safe.

CANADIAN RECIPROCITY.

STATEMENT, MAY 28, 1911.

Twenty-five years from now, when another generation has grown up, the wonder will be that any tariff law had ever existed between Canada and the United States. It must be obvious to anyone who knows anything about the history of this continent that the largest freedom of trade between both countries is the best possible thing for their inhabitants. If a line is drawn from the Atlantic to the Pacific from the northernmost point in Maine to the northernmost point of the State of Washington, and this ought to be the natural border line, the principal cities of Canada will be included within our domains. Montreal, the principal city of Canada, is but three hundred and fifty miles from New York or Portland, while Chicago is about a thousand miles. New York and Boston are hundreds of miles nearer Montreal than Halifax or St. John, and ought to be the natural ports of Canada, particularly in those months of the year when the St. Lawrence river is frozen over.

These two nations have now the longest boundary in existence, extending from ocean to ocean; they have lived in peace and mutual respect without a fortress, a soldier, or a gun on either side of the boundary. Each country has about three thousand square miles of territory, the United States with a population of one hundred millions and Canada with but seven millions. According to the best authority the United States will have reached its ability to supply its population with wheat in a few years, while Canada will be just commencing. The United States has just reached the point where its exports consist of manufactured products, while Canada is being settled by a population which will not only develop the wheat fields, but produce pig iron

and coal and minerals of all kinds for use in the development of the great industrial establishments of this country.

When one analyzes the history of our country to find reasons for the marvelous industrial and commercial success it has achieved in the last one hundred years, it will be found that the greatest factor in its development has been the freedom of trade that has existed between all the states of the Union. The map of the United States placed over Europe would cover all that country outside of Russia. More than twenty nations are included, each one armed against the other, supporting millions of soldiers in time of peace, speaking different languages and with different tariffs. The United States, with its forty-eight states, without fortresses, without tariff walls, with cotton in the south, wheat in the west, manufactures in the east, the ocean on the west, the east and the south, has furnished opportunity for the development of trade unexampled in the history of the world. While the United States was forging ahead, Canada was stagnant. Recently Canada has awakened to her advantages; her statesmen and her business men have come to realize the marvelous riches that her soil possesses, and the people are turning to them, with the result that the last ten years has witnessed a prosperity unexampled in the history of the world.

It is utterly foolish for two nations thus equipped, both in their infancy, to be apart in trade matters, and I think the fair-minded citizens of both countries will bless the day that Sir Wilfred Laurier and William H. Taft agree that both nations should adopt a trade policy for the mutual benefit of their peoples.

MEMORIAL DAY.

SPEECH AT SANDWICH, MAY 30, 1911.

To-day a grateful nation offers tribute to the memory of her patriot soldiers. In recognition of their devotion to their country's cause these hours have been set apart. And although the ritual of the Grand Army makes their service on this day both inspiring and impressive, it is from the hearts of the whole people of the nation that the most touching portion of these exercises is drawn. It is to the women of our country that we are indebted for the origin of the beautiful custom of decorating the graves of our heroic dead with flowers. At the close of the war the women of the North and South who had lost father, husband, brother or son in that terrible conflict through which the nation had passed, were moved to place the first flowers of spring on the graves of their beloved dead. The custom was quickly adopted by the various Posts of the Grand Army throughout the country, whose members could not and would not forget those comrades who had gone down with them and been lost in the seething maelstrom of civil war. The Act of Congress setting apart the 30th of May as a day sacred to the memories of patriotic citizen-soldiery of the nation came as a fitting tribute to the unselfish heroism of her loyal sons, both native and adopted, who had given their lives in her defence.

No day in the calendar is more calculated to inspire a loftier or more noble patriotism than this, which brings to us memories of the men who on the battle field, in the hospital and in prison became, at the sacrifice of their lives, saviors of their kind. In all the histories of the old world heroism there is none worthier to be called hero than the American citizen-soldier, who, for the first time in the world's history, took up arms in the defence of

peace. For him there was no glory of conquest, no consuming ambition, no thought of personal renown. In his heart there dwelt no lust of power or the sordid avarice that would seize upon the riches of his conquered foeman as his own just spoils, the price of his victory. His one thought, his sole desire, had root in his unbounded love for his country and its institutions. To-day it is often a matter of comment among Europeans that Americans abroad almost invariably refer to their native land as "God's country," and "God's country" it is to them. "God's country" it was to the men of '61 who gave up their lives cheerfully and without thought or question in its defence. "God's country" was theirs and in it God's law should be supreme; His creatures, whether white or black, should enjoy there at least the full freedom and equality that His law had ordered and the law of the country had decreed.

The patriot dead whom we honor here to-day presented to the world the sublime example of a glorious manhood willing to make the most supreme sacrifice that can be demanded of man, in that he lay down his life, and this in defence of a principle. The only reward he hoped for, the only result that he sought to procure was that this nation should forever remain one and indissoluble, that the words of the constitution granting to all men freedom and equal rights might never lose their meaning.

WEST END MERGER.

FROM SPEECH AT CANOBIE LAKE, JUNE 24, 1911.

I want to say a word on a subject which is now before the public. It is the matter of the leasing of the West End Street Railway Company by the Boston Elevated Railway Company. The Public Franchise League, as well as members of the Rapid Transit Commission and all the newspapers in Boston, have joined in an effort to induce the owners of the common stock of the West End to permit the consolidation of the West End and the Boston Elevated on a 7 per cent basis, the terms of the lease during the past fifteen years. Because the owners of the common stock in the West End Road feel that they have the Elevated and the public in a hole they are insisting upon their pound of flesh. This means \$116,000 a year, and on a basis of fifty years this would amount to about six millions of dollars taken out of the pockets of the people of Boston and given over to a few individuals. The men who stand ready to plunder the people of these millions are among our so-called "best citizens." They would shun with contempt contact with a man who had indulged in the smallest kind of graft at the expense of the city, while they unblushingly demand an extortionate dividend which must come out of the pockets of the people.

Francis C. Welch, of Quincy A. Shaw trust fame, is, as trustee, the largest holder of this stock, having control of over 7,425 shares; one of our trust companies, the New England, is the trustee for 3,553 shares; J. J. Bright owns 3,300; A. Bartlett, trustee, controls 3,122; J. A. Skinner owns 2,425; Richard Olney (Chairman of the Committee of 100) controls, as trustee, 638 shares; Francis Henshaw & Co. own 661; Chase & Barstow, the bankers, own 580; R. L. Day & Co. own 828, and

H. C. Jackson, a leading member of the Charter Association, has 800 shares. All these men are supporters and contributors to the funds of the Good Government Association. They are willing to hire a man to publish a "Good Government" magazine every month to set forth details which have little or nothing to do with the maintenance of our municipality. Does this action qualify them to act as censors of the city government?

NEEDS OF THE FIRE DEPARTMENT.

AUGUST 31, 1911.

DEAR SIR,— Your letter of August 18 declining to serve on a commission to be appointed by me for the investigation of the needs of the Fire Department has been received. In this communication you declare in substance that the whole matter has been settled and nothing remains for me to do but to ratify your decision.

I am familiar with this tone in the communications which I receive from certain departments of the government. It was manifest to a certain degree in the attitude of the School Committee a year ago when it estimated an increase of seventeen hundred and eighty-seven (1,787) pupils a year for five years as a basis for certain appropriations. My own contention was that conditions were as likely to bring about a decrease as an increase in the school population and the results have proved that I was not mistaken. The actual figures, as published by the Statistics Department, show a falling off of twelve hundred and seven (1,207) pupils between February 28, 1910, when the estimate of the School Committee was prepared, and February 28, 1911. The question then as now was the wisdom of making a permanent addition to the pay rolls of the department in the face of changes which might in the near future make such an addition unnecessary.

When convinced by a broader investigation than that which furnishes the basis of your report that the city should spend \$193,000 at once and add \$60,000 a year or more to its tax levy, I shall recommend this expenditure to the City Council as advised by you. In the meantime permit me to say that no one of the Fire Commissioners whom you quote has ever recommended an increase in the number of firemen in any official

document, as far as I have been able to ascertain, or has given this phase of the problem the importance which it has assumed in the eyes of a commission hitherto noted for its desire to reduce rather than increase the number of city employees.

In this connection permit me to quote an editorial from the Boston *Transcript* of August 2, 1910, commenting on an assertion attributed to Acting Commissioner Carroll that one hundred more men were needed in the department:

The number of men in the department is over 900. . . . But the situation is not a new one and hardly affords warrant for the suggestion of the acting head of the department that the force should be increased 10 per cent. . . . The head of a department naturally sees legitimate needs that are not always apparent to the executive or legislative branches of the municipal government, and in the case of this one the recommendations are usually considerably in advance of their satisfaction, but not in recent years have the suggestions for increase been placed at so high a figure. . . . The proposed increase would mean a matter of more than \$100,000, a burden which the city is hardly prepared to assume at such short notice.

This is precisely the point of view which I have taken, and which I shall maintain until the new commission has reported. I learn from a table compiled by Prof. C. H. Merriam, and printed in the *University of Chicago Magazine*, that the per capita cost of the fire departments of Glasgow and Vienna is 12 and 16 cents, respectively. In Philadelphia and Chicago the cost is only 92 cents and \$1.14. Boston heads the entire list of European and American cities with a per capita expenditure of \$2.39, which is twenty times that of Glasgow, fifteen times that of Vienna, two and one-half times that of Philadelphia and twice that of Chicago. Yet your commission, so keen on the scent of extravagance in other departments, asks me to jump this expenditure immediately by the sum of \$193,000, which is about equal to the entire cost of the fire department in Glasgow

for two years. You base this recommendation on a report of the Fire Commissioner which has never been submitted to the responsible head of the city government, and which I never saw until it was incorporated in your letter.

What I want as Mayor of the city, responsible to the taxpayers for outlay and return, is some satisfying explanation of the huge cost of fire protection in this city. I consider a delay of a few weeks well worth while if it results in a saving of expense, a radical improvement in fire-fighting methods, needed amendments to the building laws, or even a more thorough understanding of the unique conditions that appear to exist in Boston.

HON. JOHN A. SULLIVAN, *Chairman the Boston Finance Commission,*
Boston, Mass.

INDUSTRY IN NEW ENGLAND.

SPEECH AT THE EDUCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL
EXPOSITION, OCTOBER 2, 1911.

It is customary to say that New England was given little in the way of natural wealth. The picture usually drawn of this section contrasts the fertility of the New England mind with the barrenness of the New England soil, and it is true that we have no abundant stores of raw material in this section now that the virgin timber has been almost exhausted. We have little or no leather, cotton, wool, iron, paper pulp or coal. But, on the other hand, we have water power, which is better, because more lasting than coal; we have a coast indented with some of the finest harbors in the country; we have peculiar advantages of position in relation to the great nations of Europe, and a population in which skill of hand and education of the mind have been traditions for three centuries.

This population, while dense according to the American standard, is not the teeming swarm that it is sometimes imagined to be. All New England contains only about six and one-half millions, while little Belgium, which is only one-third the size of Maine and a trifle larger than Massachusetts, supports seven millions. The time has not yet come when we should look to emigration to relieve our commercial congestion; on the contrary, we can still find use for the thousands who are arriving yearly on our shores. Population and wealth are growing together, and if anything the latter outruns the former from decade to decade.

When we speak of New England, grouping the six states together, I think we unconsciously touch upon one of the elements of our strength. There is an undoubted community of interest among these common-

wealths and a distinctive type or character among the people. This does not mean that we are isolated from the rest of the country in any narrowing sense, but that we are individualized, and have worked out in this upper right-hand corner of the nation a destiny of our own. When one looks at the great variety of interests and industries to be found within our borders it seems absurd to talk of narrowness. New York itself is not an "Empire" state in any truer sense than New England. Our commerce, our manufactures have reached the finest point of delicacy, intricacy and taste, represented in the watch factories at Waltham and in the sumptuous book-binderies in the neighborhood of Boston; while at the opposite end of the scale we find men living in Maine and along the waterfront by the most primitive occupations, such as hunting and fishing. If this exposition does nothing else, it will have emphasized this versatility of the New England section.

I think we all realize that in order to hold our own we must continue the efforts which have brought us our present prosperity. The moment we start to drift with the tide we shall find it turning against us. We have to compete with our own offspring who have settled the Middle West and even the far North West. These men of New England blood have seized opportunities which we would like to have made our own. Every time I see a line of automobiles I remember that 60 per cent of the machines in the United States are made in Detroit, and many of them sold to purchasers in New England. As a good Bostonian, I could wish that things were exactly the other way.

The one thing that will confirm our priority and hold the advantages we have won is education. It was education in a sense that placed us where we are, and education must advance us still further on the path of industry and prosperity. The instinct of the public groped unconsciously toward this truth, and, in spite of conservative opposition, has modified the curriculum in the direction of more practical training for life. The

elementary schools now include manual training for almost every pupil; the high schools have become specialized, so that a boy may take a commercial or a mechanical course as well as a course which aims to impart a general culture. Even the colleges are shaping their courses to conform to this new tendency. Harvard, for example, includes a graduate school of business, applied science, agriculture and forestry, as well as departments which prepare for the so-called liberal professions. It seems to me that this tendency should be encouraged and developed and that we should go even further. We should undertake the education of the adult mind and get the whole public into the habit of thinking in business terms. We should inculcate among them a sort of industrial sense which is never lacking in communities at the heyday of their prosperity.

This exposition is rightly called educational. It is a world's fair in little — a great object lesson in the achievements and possibilities of New England industry. I will not stop to argue against those who contend that such education is prosaic and materialistic. Here, amid the roar of the machines and beneath the finished elegance or sturdy solidity of the product, one feels the qualities that have gone to produce such a result, the patience, industry and thrift, provident frugality and that loyalty to home and family which characterize everywhere the skilled artisan and mechanic.

As the Mayor of Boston I may be pardoned for pointing out the pivotal position which our city occupies in this display. If New England is, as I have said, a sort of nation in itself, then her capital, like those of other nations, sums up in a concentrated form the life of the whole territory. Whatever vitalizes New England heightens the brilliancy and the strength of Boston, while, on the other hand, the stability of our banks and commercial houses, the improvement of our harbor, the development of our railroads and terminal facilities, all react upon the territory and the district whose lines of traffic and of travel converge upon this point. Boston

has led the way in industrial education, in the limited sense, by her splendid technical colleges, her specializing high schools, her continuation schools for working youths, and her evening schools, unsurpassed in the variety which they offer. In the larger sense, too, she has proven herself a pioneer. The Boston Chamber of Commerce, whose delegates have just returned from a tour through Europe, has no superior in its admirable organization, and, after all, organization, like publicity, is one of the prime factors in modern commercial success. This exposition itself, arranged by the Boston Chamber of Commerce to display the industries of all New England, is evidence both of the leadership which rightfully belongs to Boston and of the inter-dependence and mutual good will which must and should exist among the six states of New England.

THE IRISH LITERARY REVIVAL.

SPEECH AT FIRST PERFORMANCE OF ABBEY THEATER
COMPANY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1911.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Like most of you I came here to-night as a learner and would prefer to listen rather than to speak. It has been my privilege to read some of the works of the remarkable group of Irish writers who have so recently won the enchanted ear of the English-speaking world. And I know from general report the claims and distinction of their writings. They have resurrected the ancient genius of Ireland and made again that music which was lost long ago in the cry of Ireland weeping for her children. This dramatic revival is only one phase of the many-sided renaissance in Ireland, but it is one of the most important. We who are of Irish blood offer, with the pride of kinsmen, a welcome to the Abbey Theater Company and the distinguished authors who have come to watch over the production of their plays.

The appeal of these plays, however, is not confined to people of Irish origin. There will be many in this audience whose interest is not racial but artistic, and we, so proud to call ourselves Irish to-night, rejoice that this literary movement has been carried far beyond the boundaries of race to become one of the most significant events of the age. I am honored in presenting to a Boston audience the works of Mr. Yeats, who is here with us to-night, Lady Gregory, Mr. Synge, and others hardly less gifted, who have sought to portray the spirit and features of life in that mysterious western island, and I hope that this theater will be crowded at every performance so that there may be no doubt of Boston's appreciation of what this gifted group have done to release the imprisoned poetry of the people of Ireland.

STREET IMPROVEMENTS.

JANUARY 27, 1912.

DEAR SIRs,— While the street plan of Boston has been commended for its picturesqueness and some experts have even professed to see in it a certain fitness to our particular needs, it is generally regarded as anything but a model in respect to comfort and convenience. The down-town streets are crooked, the roadways and sidewalks are narrow, and the whole scheme seems ill-adapted for the travel and traffic which it is compelled to bear. One of the melancholy features of our early municipal history is the failure of the authorities to adopt certain practical suggestions for highway improvement which, while costly at the time, if carried out would have left no occasion for future regrets.

The congestion in the business section of this city is all but intolerable, and it is generally agreed that the remedies which should be applied are of a heroic character. This year I have given definite shape, in the form of bills presented to the Legislature, to two ideas for street improvement which have been hovering in the air for a long time past and which have been informally discussed by several public bodies. My motive in addressing you at the present time is to crystallize opinion on these points so that the above-mentioned measures may stand before the Legislature backed, if possible, by the support of the entire business community as well as the city officials.

The principal improvements suggested by me are the widening of Avery street and its extension to Tremont, the widening and extension of Hamilton place, the construction of a teaming highway between the North and South Stations, and the laying out of a new street midway between Washington and Tremont streets, extending

from Hanover to Boylston street. The extension of Avery street would provide relief for Boylston street, which is already congested, by furnishing a ready means of access to the business establishments on Washington street from the subway outlet, and the extension of Hamilton place would operate in a similar manner. The value of a great teaming thoroughfare between the North and South Stations need not be emphasized, and the street paralleling Washington and Tremont streets, midway between these two, has been urged as perhaps the most radical remedy of all for the congestion of traffic in this center of the retail trade and high valuations. Some of these measures are presented in two forms, so that if it is advisable advantage may be taken of the new constitutional amendment which permits territory to be acquired in excess of that actually needed for the street improvement.

I believe that your body would render a public service by instituting an inquiry into these propositions. The effects of these improvements would be far reaching. This very circumstance, which justifies in my opinion the expense involved, makes it at the same time necessary to proceed with caution and to consult the business men whose interests are to be affected.

I trust that you may find it convenient to give this your immediate attention and that I shall have the benefit of your advice in my appearances before the Legislature.

BOSTON FINANCE COMMISSION AND BOSTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
Boston, Mass.

BOSTON CATHOLICS.

AT THE RECEPTION TO CARDINAL O'CONNELL,
FEBRUARY 7, 1912.

I sometimes wonder if the sons of the Puritans understand why we Catholics profess such an ardent affection for Boston. To some of them, I fear, we are still, I will not say intruders in the sacred precincts, but latecomers not yet fully acclimated. They cannot know, as we do, the personal memories that hallow this scene of our fathers' struggles. They, too, were Pilgrims, and we, as well as descendants of the Mayflower party, are the children of sacrifice and prayer. Our annals tell of villages emptied by famine, of crowded immigrant ships, of laborious lives in the new land, and the scanty reward of the laborers.

But privation bred character in these exiles of Erin. Creature comforts were few in those days, but the immigrants received here the priceless gift of freedom. In the bracing New England air they paid their way in honest toil, prospered according to their talents and opportunities, and gave us, their offspring, the advantages of education which had been cruelly denied them. If we have climbed a little higher than our parents in worldly position it is because we were lifted up on their sturdy shoulders. For us they toiled and struggled; for us, above all, they preserved the faith which is higher than worldly advantage, higher than life itself. If we had no reasons of our own,—and we have many,—for loving the city of our birth, we should hold it in honor as the place where our fathers found a refuge in affliction and laid the foundations of our own prosperity.

It is natural, when we tell the story of the Church in Boston, to lay stress on its dramatic phases,—not only its prodigious growth in numbers and influence, but its

struggle with fanaticism and its glorious victory. I do not know, however, that any good purpose would be served to-night by recalling bygone differences. On this pleasant occasion, amid an era of harmony and good will, let us rejoice, as we have a right to rejoice, in our numbers and good name, but let us generously ignore the unhappy period of our purification by blood and fire.

Whatever misunderstandings may have formerly existed, we now enjoy, as individuals, the full rights of citizenship. There is daily contact with our neighbors, mutual tolerance and trust. The Church is no longer viewed askance as a menace to our institutions. On the contrary, most Americans recognize that without its cooperation the state itself would be weakened, if not endangered. Against certain perils that threaten society she alone offers potent safeguards. To the challenge of those who would subvert established forms and customs her answer alone rings clarion clear.

Order, obedience, reverence for authority are the cornerstones of her system. In this age of revolution, when thought has become wanton and the red flag is waved from the housetops, who else enunciates so fearlessly the supremacy of the moral laws? The bayonets of the soldiery may exact a sullen submission, but it is only the Church that can quell the deeper riot in the human heart. The time may soon come when she will be summoned to this task and we may be sure that she will perform it with her accustomed firmness and forbearance.

The same influences that would undermine the state are attacking the integrity of the Christian home. Society, as we know it, rests upon the family, and the very mortar that binds the foundation stones together is the Church, with its emphasis on affection and duty rather than passion and caprice. We do not say with Luther, "Marriage is a mere worldly thing." We consecrate it as an inviolable sacrament, and invest it with the tenderest associations of life,— those of motherhood

and the cradle. If discords arise, we seek to reconcile the estranged couple, instead of thrusting them farther asunder and tossing the children back and forth between them like playthings. To-day, when divorce has become respectable, and the trial marriage is publicly advocated, the tenets of the Church are more and more commanding respect and winning adherents.

Poverty, the persistent shadow which dogs the figure of luxury, is embittered in America not only by the contrast with flaunting affluence but by a keen sense of disillusion. Politically we have proclaimed that all men are free and equal, but industrially many believe the chasm between rich and poor is widening every day. The nation seems to be reeling in an apoplexy of congested wealth that serves no economic purpose and only renders its possessors less human and less happy. It is true the annual roll of their benefactions cannot be matched in European countries. Perhaps they are themselves mere victims, to a certain extent, of the false standards of the age; but there still remains the spectacle of innumerable lives crushed out of the semblance of humanity beneath their feet, the underpaid workers, both men and women, spirit-broken on the wheels of the machinery they tend, the pallid children robbed of their flowering time, and worst of all, the pitiful army of the unemployed, subjected to the fierce temptations of idleness and despair. The Catholic Church, founded by Christ the Carpenter, has always been the friend of the poor. It is she who presents the cause of these sufferers with most sincere compassion, and admonishes Dives, at the height of his revel, that Lazarus, sitting on the threshold, is his brother. She alone takes the sting of condescension from the alms-gift and restores charity to its original, inoffensive meaning of love.

In these respects, and in many others, the establishment of the Church in America seems providential. The instinct of the American people recognizes her mission and because they are a sound and conservative

people the Church here enjoys an esteem not always granted to her elsewhere. But it is not only by her teachings that she is judged, and judged favorably. The fruit of those teachings in the lives of her children is the highest vindication of her claims to a divine origin. I do not think that we need blush at the comparison of the Catholic people with any other element. Our men are honest, our women virtuous. The priesthood, almost without exception, is of exemplary character, and the list of our bishops is one of which any diocese might well be proud. The gentle and apostolic Cheverus, a man of remarkable mind and character, links hands with the resolute Fenwick and the stately Fitzpatrick, all three well adapted by their scholarship and social graces to the atmosphere of this cultured city.

The image of Archbishop Williams still survives in our memories, a man so reserved that he seemed almost to direct his diocese by gesture rather than by speech, yet with a perfect correspondence of life and creed stamped visibly on his serene and exalted countenance. Physically and spiritually erect, youthful even in extreme old age, he committed the Church of New England, well organized and flourishing, to the hands of his successor.

And what shall we say of him? Truly a great prince has arisen in Israel, and God has visited His people. Young, strong, vigorous, mighty in intellect, powerful in moral force, superb citizen, devoted churchman, kindly father of priests and laity alike, raised to the lofty dignity of a prince of the church, he has again lifted this beloved city of ours, placing it on a pinnacle where all the world may see, and has vindicated the intellectual and moral grandeur of Boston. We citizens of Boston to-night, your Eminence, congratulate you upon this newly conferred honor which we know will be so ably borne. We thank the Holy See for this new manifestation of its love for our city and its fine discrimination in raising to the dignity of a prince of the Church

the acknowledged leader of religious thought in New England. We have followed your career with keen interest for years. We have loved to contemplate your rapid rise from the position of curate in a Boston parish, through the presidency of the American College at Rome, the bishopric of Portland, a bearer of a message of peace to the Eastern world, the archbishopric of Boston, to the cardinalate, and we can assure you that we have always rejoiced with you at every new exhibition of Rome's appreciation of your abilities, and we thank you for the assurance that the great honor which has come to you, and in which we all rejoice, is in some measure due to the esteem in which Boston herself is held by the Holy See.

The citizens of Boston pledge you anew their love; they promise a quickening of the public and private conscience and they pray that God may bless you for many years to come, to be a benediction to the people of this city and this archdiocese, who one and all affectionately greet you with the name of Father.

THE IRISH IN NEW ENGLAND.

AT CHARITABLE IRISH SOCIETY BANQUET, MARCH 18,
1912.

The date of the founding of this society reminds us how early the Irish were on the scene in America and what a part they played in the building of the American Republic. In compliment, we are told, to the number of Irish soldiers in his army during the siege of Boston, George Washington gave "Saint Patrick" as the counter-sign on March 17, 1776, the day when the British, numbering eleven thousand souls, weighed anchor and sailed out into the waters of Massachusetts Bay. Not only do the names of distinguished generals of the Revolution, such as Montgomery, Sullivan, Knox, Moylan, and Morgan, suggest the existence of a large Irish mixture, but the regimental rolls which have been compiled in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and other states are sprinkled with patronymics indicating an Irish origin.

There is no need, however, of expatiating on this topic. The subject is a familiar one. The stream of immigration rose rapidly until by the middle of the nineteenth century a great tide of rich, warm Irish blood was pouring into the country. While it spread far and wide, and every state in the nation received its share, no portion of the country was more thoroughly saturated with the Celtic influx than New England. We are all familiar with the bewilderment which naturally followed the impact of two dissimilar races, and with its manifestations in such forms as the Knownothing movement in the middle of the nineteenth century. There are living among us men old enough to remember the uphill struggle which they and their fathers waged to maintain the primary rights of citizenship and the

dignity of their manhood. But a readjustment came about gradually. There were too many resemblances of character and too many substantial interests in common to permit a permanent separation. Each generation witnesses a closer conformity in accent, appearance and ways of thought, and to-day the assimilation is almost complete.

New England is probably the most Irish section of the country and yet it is still New England, true to the traditions of its founders and conscious of no decay in mental or moral vigor. Gradually at first, and then at a more rapid pace, the Irish immigrants and their children overtook the descendants of the Pilgrims in prosperity and education. Their growth in numbers gave them political power. The wealth of the region assured them of commercial opportunities, and their own native gifts brought distinction in many fields. In this second decade of the twentieth century it is as true of New England as of the other parts of the country that Irish names appear in exceptional profusion among the leaders in the professions, in trade and commerce, manufactures, railroading and public life.

The Irish in New England have at times found it necessary to assert rather vigorously rights which were denied them, and in some quarters further assertion may still be required; but on the whole, looking over the ground broadly, it is fair to say that we have now attained a position in which we may turn aside from the contemplation of our rights and wrongs to the larger question of our responsibilities. New England is still one of the brightest spots on the map of the nation, illuminated by its long record of distinction in patriotism, industry and culture. It has given the nation presidents and mothers of presidents. Literature, art, commerce, the sciences, all flourish here. Our inventions, our humanitarian movements and our just laws have conferred no less honor upon us than our material success.

Such is the inheritance of the Irish-Americans settled

here. They have come to the bloom of their own prosperity at a turning point in the fortunes of New England, and if our section should witness a decline, coincident with this change in the population, rightly or wrongly the inference would be drawn that the heirs were unworthy of their ancestors; that the rugged, intellectual and intensely individual type that was developed here from early immigration and colonial conditions had given way to a feebler stock, unable to perpetuate the primacy which the Puritans had wrung from a none too fertile soil.

New England cannot produce raw materials which feed the nation or enter into manufacturing industries. Her soil, by itself, would hardly sustain the people that live within her borders. She is wealthy, but her wealth arises, not out of the ground beneath her feet, but out of the active brains and skillful fingers of her children. About the only natural assets she has, now that the forests are exhausted, are the tumbling rivers, which give water power, and the ocean, bathing her shores and indenting them with innumerable harbors.

Our manifest destiny is to apply a sort of intensive culture to manufactures and to develop the finer grades of goods in all the lines in which we now have the ascendancy. Our boots and shoes, our paper, our textiles, our machinery, should all be so superior to rival products that the label "Made in New England" would be recognized the world over as a guaranty of style and durability. The time is near at hand when we must cease to be a nation exporting agricultural products, as the increase of population makes it certain that we can barely support our own people with the products of our soil. The manifest destiny of this section of the country is to become one of the great manufacturing regions of the world and such a prospect affords a brilliant rainbow of hope to the people of Boston who have the inimitable advantage of a situation upon the world's great highway of commerce. With a proper development of the port we should see our

waterfront crowded with factories and the whole city encircled with a belt of manufacturing industries. Besides this, the new trade routes that will be formed over the ocean when the Panama Canal is completed open up a bright prospect for the port of Boston. We are nearer to Rio de Janeiro than New Orleans or Baltimore, and if Yankee captains a hundred years ago carried our merchandise around Cape Horn to the coast of China and founded business houses in Canton and Peking, there is no reason why a large percentage of the growing trade on both coasts of South America and in the Orient should not be captured by the young men who are coming out of our High School of Commerce with the best equipment that the city can give.

There is one field in which I hope to see the Irish-Americans distinguish themselves particularly. Whether by accident or design the doors of our financial houses do not seem to open readily to applicants of Irish blood. Their keen minds and vigorous characters fit them particularly for these strenuous activities, and I see no reason why, when the barriers give way, as they finally must, and the newer blood receives its due recognition, our financial institutions should not show a larger number of Irish names among their directorates, without sacrificing any of the strength and integrity which has caused them to weather so many panics without loss to their clients and depositors. I plead for this not only for the sake of the young men of my own race, but because I believe it is a detriment to the community if the reins of power in the banking business are gathered in the hands of any particular group or class.

In forecasting thus favorably, and I trust without undue optimism, our fortunes in the near future, we should not forget that we are more than New Englanders, more even than Americans. We are part of the Irish race taken as a whole and now spreading over the five continents of the globe. In a thousand cities, amid peoples whose tongue is alien to ours, the virtues of that race are celebrated to-night and the hymns to Saint

Patrick are sung by his loyal disciples. Our prosperity in New England raises the average level of the entire race, united to-day in a bond of spiritual brotherhood. It must react favorably upon the Irish in Ireland, where our blood is purest, where our ancestral language is still spoken in many districts, and where the ancient traditions of the race are preserved.

I have purposely struck the note of optimism rather than of protest and lamentation. The causes of protest, as I have intimated, are disappearing and there is no reason whatever for despair. The Irish race in New England has retained all its familiar qualities, its vivacity and humor, its religious habit of mind, its keen political faculty, its gifts of tongue and pen, and its pre-eminence at the post of danger. But it has imbibed, — let us frankly admit, and pay tribute where tribute is due,—it has imbibed from the air of Puritan New England an appreciation of certain values which may have escaped the men of the generation immediately preceding us, absorbed as they were in simpler tasks and aims. Our people have become versatile. They follow a wider variety of pursuits. We find Irish names cropping out in fields in which formerly we did not look for them. This discovery affords unexpected pleasure, testifying to the breadth of talent of the race, and showing that we have mental and spiritual resources that have not been fully developed. For New England itself this is a happy augury and puts a quietus on the cry of the alarmists that with the decline in numbers of the Puritans' descendants the glory of our section is bound to depart. The new races, the Irish, French, Jew and Italian, have their gifts as well as the first-comers. Let us all join hands and supplement one another's efforts by our special contributions to the common welfare. If we go forward in this spirit, with a friendly emulation but no mean jealousy, the twentieth century will witness even brighter fame and more splendid deeds than those which during the past three hundred years have rendered the name of New England illustrious.

TITANIC MEMORIAL.

AT FANEUIL HALL, APRIL 22, 1912.

We are here, first of all, to record our admiration for the men and women who met death bravely on that terrible night. Several of them were our fellow citizens: Timothy J. McCarthy, Herbert H. Hilliard and A. W. Newall, Boston men who stood aside with the others, observing that law which, for all true Americans, is the law of the land as well as of the sea,— the law that bids the strong give of their strength for the protection and preservation of the weak.

It is our privilege also, without intruding on the sanctity of private grief, to express our sympathy for the survivors, many of whom suffered not only physical hardship, but the irreparable loss of those with whom they would have been glad to die. Words are weak comforters on an occasion like this, but we hope that this outpouring of compassion from all the nations of the civilized world may allay the anguish that wrings their hearts and afford them some measure of distraction and relief.

Finally, we have come together to read as best we may the lessons of this catastrophe, and to draw such healing medicine as we may out of these poor, crushed, human lives, to emphasize again the courage and chivalry of those who let others pass them by on the path to safety. We apprehend once more the truth which we are so prone to forget,— that there are knights in shoddy and knights in broadcloth, and that under all the external differences of accent, apparel or social position, the man is the man for all that. Just now when the voices of arrogance and envy seem unwontedly loud, and class consciousness is taught as the basis of a social creed, such a lesson seems almost providential. As

the Spanish-American War removed the last vestiges of sectional hatred and drew the north and south together in one reunited country, so may the common heroism displayed by millionaire and wireless operator, officer and steward, cabin passenger and steerage immigrant, remind us that the same red blood flows in the veins of all of us and that we are the sons and daughters of a common Father.

One other image rises over the scene. It is the form of humanity itself, which seems to emerge from that sinking craft and hover over the waters. Whatever may be said of the imperfections and even cruelties of our modern civilization, never before has human life possessed the sanctity which it has to-day. What are all the remedies that have been proposed but accumulated testimony to the preciousness of the human cargo which these vessels bear. It is because we feel that other considerations less important may have prevailed over this paramount one that a great wave of protest has gathered, and indignation has been directed against the conditions that have been permitted to exist. It is for this reason that we demand that the governments of the world shall assume strict control over ocean travel. The speakers who follow me will voice this protest more effectively than I can, and will give emphasis to the measures that may be taken, so that never again shall an ocean steamer bearing more than two thousand souls go down on a sea of glass, under a starlit sky, with other vessels speeding to her rescue, and leave less than one-third of her human cargo to tell the tale.

ADDRESS TO GOSPEL MISSION.
AT THE PARK STREET CHURCH, MAY 13, 1912.

GENTLEMEN,— In performing the agreeable duties of hospitality I am called upon to face many gatherings and to extend the welcome of the city to workers in a hundred different fields, but of all the conventions that I have addressed I do not know any which is brought together by a higher motive than this.

In every large city the pressure of competition brings discouragement to many men, and temptation, as we all know, lurks just around the corner from the poor man's home. Thousands fall by the wayside and sink into the depths of despair. There is perhaps more real loneliness in the heart of a great city than out in the wilderness itself.

It is against conditions like these that the Christian churches have organized their missions and their armies of rescuers. Behind the wretched figure crawling along, taking the by-ways and avoiding notice,— a visible wreck of self-respecting manhood,— they see what might have been under other conditions and what still may be if the spirit of regeneration enters into that man's soul; they see the home behind him, and the wife and children whose whole future depends upon his return to the ways of righteousness. They believe, as all Christians must, that the most powerful motive for reform is the religious motive, and while not neglecting other methods of approach, they place before him, as the Founder of our religion himself did, first of all the direct personal problem of his own salvation.

I am sure that whether we look at this problem of the redemption of unfortunate men from the religious or the merely social point of view, your activities are of incalculable benefit to society. People may say that

the life of the outcast is useless, that he has impaired his physical strength as well as his moral nature, and that the energy expended in reforming him might be better applied in other ways. But this was not the preaching or the practice of Him whom we accept as our model, and such views issue from the same source, the same materialistic philosophy, which condemns all our modern activities in behalf of the weaklings of the race. Like the Spartans, who exposed their delicate children on the bleak slopes of Mt. Taygetus, or the Eskimos, who ruthlessly slaughter the aged members of their tribes when they are no longer able to support themselves, the modern Malthusians and their kin would have us close the tuberculosis hospitals, as well as the rescue missions, and let the weaker brethren perish in order that the race as a whole may be beautiful and strong. You and I, who have been taught to see the ethical beauty in the work of a Father Damien, who himself contracted leprosy while ministering to those afflicted with that disease, will continue to think that the beauty which is the result of starving our own finest instincts is the beauty of cold marble and such strength merely the strength of animals. For their example and influence upon the world in softening and refining the hard substances of our nature these institutions will not only be permitted to exist but will, I am sure, as mankind becomes better and better, be multiplied and extended. The instinct of the common man is sometimes a better guide than the sophistries of the wise, and the reverence that is paid to the uniform of a Salvation Army worker or a Sister of Charity testifies to the decision which the mass of mankind has made upon this issue. From this point of view I bid you welcome and Godspeed in the noble work to which you have devoted your lives.

As the cities grow larger there is a greater and greater accumulation of human misery at the bottom. We have had warnings of late that all the elements of a profound social upheaval are lying beneath our feet,

and unless such counteracting agencies as those which you employ are brought into the field a new revolution may soon be upon us.

As the Mayor of the city, standing for civic order and the laws of the land, I feel it my duty to commend in the highest terms the conservative force which you are exerting in the very quarters where danger is most imminent.

PREFERENTIAL VOTE.

MAY 27, 1912.

DEAR SIR,— Some months ago, when the question of primary voting for presidential candidates was being discussed in the Massachusetts Senate, you called upon me for aid in securing Democratic support for this measure, and I very gladly joined with you in the movement. You remember that on the day the bill finally passed, there was some doubt in your mind as to whether certain Democratic Senators from Boston would be on hand because of efforts that were being made to keep one or more of them away. I told you at that time that I did not think any Democratic Senator would be found either voting against this progressive measure or staying away from the Senate when it was being considered. My surmise proved true because, on the final passage of the measure, every Democrat was recorded in favor of it.

To-day the bill calling for preferential voting for the United States Senate comes up before the Massachusetts Senate. I learned with some surprise that Senator Brown of Medford, who led the vote for preferential voting for president, will propose an amendment limiting the preference choice to the primary of each party, and that Senator Pearson of Brookline will introduce another amendment providing that no member of one party shall be under any obligation to vote for the candidate of another party, no matter how much the preference may be shown by the voters for that particular candidate.

If either one of these amendments were passed the effect would be to stifle the popular will in Massachusetts, and knowing that you have no sympathy with any such movement, I write to ask you to use your

influence with the men who aided in securing the passage of the preference vote on presidential candidates for a measure similar to the Oregon law, which directs members of the Legislature to vote for the candidate who has received the largest number of votes at the previous election. In view of the fact that the whole country endorses the popular vote for United States Senate, Massachusetts being in the lead, this measure should receive the vote of every legislator who is desirous of seeing the popular will prevail.

MATTHEW HALE, Esq., 15 State Street, Boston, Mass.

FORSYTH DENTAL INFIRMARY.
SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE, JUNE 4, 1912.

The gift of this beautiful building to the people of Boston is one of the signs that encourage us to believe that the old spirit of private initiative and personal independence has not entirely died out from our midst. There is an unmistakable tendency at the present time to rely more and more upon the government, which means that the common people, who ultimately pay most of the taxes, are bearing the burdens which formerly were borne by those who had acquired riches. Yet such magnificent foundations as those made by Mr. Rockefeller for the promotion of education and health, and Mr. Carnegie for the establishment of libraries, increasing the pay of college professors, and the spread of the movement for universal peace, remind us that the wealth of our day is less divorced from a sense of responsibility than some would have us believe.

In Boston we have seen a long list of princely bequests or gifts for the public welfare. I need only mention the names of Gordon McKay, Peter Bent and Robert Bent Brigham, Arioeh Wentworth, Henry L. Higginson, Eben D. Jordan, Mrs. R. D. Evans and the various benefactors of the Institute of Technology, to prove that we are still true to the traditions of our city. In this group the Messrs. Forsyth belong by their splendid vision of a Dental Hospital incarnated in this monumental structure. Their kindly forethought will make their names illustrious as long as this building stands and its beneficent activities are maintained.

Its outlines, substantial and imposing, fittingly express the spirit which gave it birth, and testify to the dignity and importance of the work that is to go on within its walls. It springs up at a time when child hygiene has

become more and more recognized in the department of Medical Science. We realize now that the health of the adult is based upon the environment and experiences of childhood. The school room of to-day is incomplete without frequent visits from the doctor and the nurse, and lately we have gone further and undertaken to educate the people to a knowledge of the laws of health by visitation at their homes. The recent examination of school children in this city disclosed a serious percentage of dental defects, and modern science warns us that this condition, formerly regarded as negligible, affects more than we realize the general health as well as the facial beauty and expression of the population. Degenerate conditions of city life impair vitality and bring about that early decay of the teeth which, I am told, renders the population in certain European capitals so displeasing to the visitor. Fortunately in this country we have not progressed so far on the downward path, and the establishment of a specialized hospital like the Forsyth Dental Infirmary, in which unsound teeth can be preserved and facial irregularities corrected, promises much for the welfare of the coming generations.

At present preventive dentistry hardly exists. Only the more enlightened members of the community visit the dentist until after the mischief is done. This institution will, I understand, address itself particularly to childhood and forestall that tendency to decay and irregularity which in a minor way, perhaps, has contributed to ill health and unhappiness in tens of thousands of lives. The motto of the infirmary indicates that it is "Dedicated to the Children," and in these four words knowledge and kindness find a perfect union. Science, as I have said, tells us that the care expended upon the health of the child is an investment that can never be equaled at a later period.

The Forsyth Brothers have not only added this superb building to the group which is rising along the Fenway, but they have set us an example more precious than the wealth which they have devoted to this purpose.

They have exemplified anew the ideal of the superior minds in all ages that it is more praiseworthy to give than to acquire and that happiness is best obtained by serving others. They may pass from this ceremony assured that they have done much to raise the standard of health and beauty here, to elevate the dental profession, to enhance the good name of Boston, and to stimulate and renew our faith in the essential goodness of mankind.

PORT OF BOSTON.

AT NAVIGATION CONGRESS DINNER, JUNE 5, 1912.

I do not think I exaggerate in saying that Boston is recognized as one of the great seaports of the world. If we include the suburbs we have a population of 1,500,000, which places us tenth in rank among the cities of the globe, and our position in commerce is at least as high as that. This is due primarily to our natural advantages and secondarily to the character of the people who have settled here. As the nearest port to Europe and one of the first to be settled, already in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries we had established connections with the Orient, and our fleet of square rigged vessels sent out under resolute captains bred one of the finest types of seafaring men that the world has ever known. As time went on and steam navigation increased the size of vessels it became necessary to provide deeper and wider channels. Already the National Government has spent nearly \$8,000,000 on the channels in Boston Harbor, and we offer the largest ships in the world a roadway 1,200 to 1,500 feet wide and six miles long from the outer harbor to the docks. Our roadsteads are safe, and the waterfront, forty miles in length, presents an opportunity for cheap manufacturing sites not equaled in any part of this country. The total valuation of our docks and piers is about \$70,000,000. Behind the city proper the immediate hinterland represents perhaps the highest average of individual wealth and productive capacity in any part of the United States. So that we should, in the natural course of things, have a large volume of products to export, and this, with our ability to absorb foreign goods through the high per capita wealth of

the region, furnishes the basis for an active interchange of commodities and the highest commercial prosperity.

The machinery for transacting this business, while not all that it will be in a very short time, is still ample to care for an immense volume of trade. Some of our docks and piers are among the finest on the Atlantic coast, and their loading and unloading facilities compare favorably with those to be seen in European ports, though under this head I think there is still wide room for improvement. We have warehouse facilities, a large fleet of tugs and lighters, splendid teaming accommodations and street connections, which, while not all that could be desired, are still equal to the demands made upon them. The labor supply is ample and highly intelligent. In the ship yards at Fore River some of the largest vessels in the world have been built. As the second fishing port in the world and the center of an immense coastwise trade, we are now able to furnish sailors for the enlarged fleet which we hope to see entering our harbor in the near future.

But while we have achieved this desirable position and maintained our rank as the second or third port for foreign and coastwise commerce in the United States, there is a general feeling that we are on the eve of a great awakening which will make the record of the nineteenth century seem as small, compared with that of the twentieth, as the adventures of the little 1,000 ton brigs and barkentines of our ancestors in the Revolutionary days seem to the voyages of the great ocean liners that cross the 3,000 miles between Europe and America in less than a week. The Panama Canal will soon be opened and will place Boston within easy striking distance of the west coast of South America and all the Pacific ports. The promise of a direct line to Texas shows that the thoughts of our master minds in commerce are turning southward. At the same time there is, as you know, an agitation for better railroad connections with Canada and the northwest. We

hope that the differentials which have proved a handicap to us in competition with other ports will soon be equalized. The movement for inter-coastal waterways includes a canal or series of canals connecting Boston with Narragansett Bay and this means a great deal for the development of our port. The one difficulty here has been the ownership of a large percentage of the waterfront by private capital. The creation of a board of directors of the port, with a fund of \$9,000,000 at their disposal, is expected to bring the entire waterfront under the direct control of the public authorities, and the experience of New York, Hamburg and other cities shows that this means an immediate quickening of activity. As further evidences of life we may point to the appraisers' stores which are about to be built at a cost of \$1,000,000; the new immigration station and the extension of the custom house; an improved belt line giving all roads approaching Boston equal access to the docks and piers has long been discussed and must sooner or later be brought about. The building of a dry dock, at which large steamers could make necessary repairs, has also been proposed. With our Chamber of Commerce, consisting of 4,500 members, the largest and best organized body of its kind on this side of the water, urging and promoting such measures the outlook for a great commercial advance in this city is certainly promising.

While the city government, as such, does not take part directly in some of these measures, it is after all the party most affected, and its influence is felt through the Chamber of Commerce, through its representatives in the Legislature, in Congress and in other ways in all the improvements which I have recited.

I trust that you gentlemen may be able to return sometime and witness the fulfillment of these prophecies and the consummation of our wishes. If our hopes are realized, and I am sure they will be, this city will within a decade take its place beside Hamburg

and Liverpool and New York as one of those great seaports whose harbor lights are familiar to the mariners of every nation and the figures of whose annual trade represent the valuation of a respectable city. All of this increase in exchange means of course a growth of friendship and a better mutual understanding between the peoples of the world, and I am sure that your visit at the present time will mark another chapter in the story of international amity.

GENERAL FORBES.

ADDRESS AT BANQUET, JUNE 21, 1912.

GENTLEMEN,— I am very glad to be here to-night to add my tribute of praise for Mr. Forbes. We knew him a few years ago as a young member of a family whose names were household words for patriotism and public spirit. He has in his veins the best blood of New England, combining literature, seamanship, soldierly courage, public service and distinction in finance. He was attached to one of our chief banking houses and seemed destined to follow the routine path of the citizens of his class.

During the agitated period that followed the taking of the Philippines and the readjustment of our relations toward the Orient, Mr. Forbes became a member of the Philippines Commission, and after several years of apprenticeship in that service he was finally appointed Governor General of the archipelago. The prosperity and peace in the island since then, and the unreserved confidence of the native leaders which he has won, are the best evidence of the wisdom of his selection by President Taft. The tasks which he has undertaken have not been military in their character. The insurrections in remote portions of the country have died down to local uprisings which are easily kept in check by the constabulary. The problems which he has had to meet are perhaps more difficult because more subtle and complex. They have been educational, industrial, financial, political and social in their character; questions of building railroads, of restoring the live stock depleted by the wars but necessary for the carrying on of agriculture, of sanitary reform with the purpose of checking epidemics and reducing the death rate. There is also the ever present problem of reconciling the differ-

ences of the various tribes and removing the vestiges of their resentment against the white intruder. The introduction of democratic forms of government in an Oriental country is an experiment which can only be successful in the hands of wise and prudent administrators. I am sure that if the native provincial governors and native commissioners were in Boston they would sit with us this evening and join in this testimonial to Governor-General Forbes.

The remarkable feature of Mr. Forbes' career in our Eastern possessions is that he had had no political experience. His interests as a banker had no doubt brought him in touch with the large movements of trade, and his studies had taught him the principles of government and the philosophy of history. His success only proves the large amount of available material we have in our midst,—citizens whose inherited capacity and natural gifts would be of the utmost value to the government if they could only be called upon. I think it is a pity that such men as Mr. Forbes do not enter public life more, and that it requires the summons of a great national need to draft their energies into the service of the country. We may hope that having tested his mettle in this difficult field he will be inclined to give his own state or the nation at large the benefit of the experience which he has accumulated. I feel confident that higher honors are in store for Mr. Forbes.

Why should the Filipinos be the sole beneficiaries of Mr. Forbes' high character and trained intelligence? We owe a certain debt to "the little brown brother," but all of the white man's burden is not located on the other side of the Pacific. We see on every hand the evidence of an impending social revolution. New political parties are forming and there is a new alignment in the old. If those who are prepared by experience and familiarity with large affairs to lead the people and maintain order amid the chaos that threatens us shirk their duty and take refuge in the mere pursuit of private gain or personal indulgence, no matter how

refined it may be, the people will be deprived of their natural leaders and the body politic will be without a head. Governor-General Forbes has set us an admirable example which I hope will be followed by many others of his class. The mere fact that America is no longer occupied solely by descendants of the original settlers ought not to deter men of that origin from giving the best that is in them to the country. On the contrary, it ought to be an added stimulus to exertion because there is no doubt that the coming in of tens of thousands of foreigners from southern and eastern Europe, people of different standards of living and different political training from our own, but who have in them the making of good citizens, complicates social relations here and presents a most exacting problem for the statesmanship of the nation. These considerations hold good of state and city as well as of national politics. If the example of Mr. Forbes incites other men of his environment and capacity to shoulder the burdens of public life and render yeoman service for the common good, his influence at home will be far greater and more beneficial than any that he has exercised in the far distant province which he has so ably administered. I hope that this will be one result of his return to Boston, where serious-minded men know well how to appreciate the services of a faithful citizen.

IN FAVOR OF WILSON.

SPEECH AT ROCKLAND, MAINE, SEPTEMBER 5, 1912.

That for years the Republican party has been controlled in the interest of combined capital has long been known by many. It is now known by all. That its tariff policy and all its policies affecting industry and commerce have been based upon the demands of the trust rather than upon the welfare of the people will no longer be disputed. The disruption of the Republican party, which has been brought about by Colonel Roosevelt's personal ambition, will prove a blessing to the country, for it has made as clear as sunlight the relations of the trusts to the Republican party.

Let no intelligent citizen hug the delusion that he can obtain a betterment of conditions through the election of Roosevelt. Let him remember that for many years Roosevelt was a Republican politician and an astute Republican leader. Let him remember that Roosevelt's relations with those whom he now denounces were intimate and practical. The trusts contributed to his campaign in 1904 with his knowledge and consent, and they contributed to Taft's campaign in 1908 with his knowledge and consent. If Colonel Roosevelt had been nominated for the Presidency at Chicago in June, 1912, by the Republican National Convention, the relations between Roosevelt and the trusts would be as intimate and practical to-day as they were eight and four years ago. He would not have seen the slightest necessity for substituting Flinn for Penrose in Pennsylvania or Woodruff for Barnes in New York.

For him who believes that now is the time to strike a final and a fatal blow at the trusts which hitherto have directed legislation and controlled the very government; for the honest citizen who is ready to demand

that the professional stock waterers loosen their grip upon the people, there is but one course to follow. His only hope of obtaining what he seeks is to give his support to the Democratic candidate for President, Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey.

Let it be remembered that behind Colonel Roosevelt to-day, as he attacks certain interests and carefully refrains from attacking others, there are combinations of capitalists whose interests are not the interests of honest, self-respecting citizens. There is no trust in the world more rapacious and unscrupulous than the Harvester trust, which has received his approval and which contributes George W. Perkins as his financial backer. The methods of the Harvester trust in dealing with the people of the West have been almost beyond belief. In spite of its efforts to stifle competition and to place every farmer at its mercy, and even while maintaining in the state of New York industrial establishments which in their treatment of women and children are a disgrace to modern civilization, it does not hesitate to assume a smug hypocrisy and prate of its welfare work.

The leader of the so-called Progressive Party, which has for its one actual purpose the election of Roosevelt for a third term, differentiates between good and bad trusts. Let it be remembered that all of the big trusts, whatever may be their degrees of excellence or badness, were formed and fostered and pampered during Republican administrations, and that in no administration were more trusts organized than during the administration of Theodore Roosevelt. His dealings with the steel trust, when he gave special sanction to its attempt to swallow its largest competitor, is written large in financial and political history.

Let no true Progressive, whatever his political designation may have been, confuse the present issue. The Roosevelt of 1912 is the Roosevelt of 1904. The Republican party of 1912 is the Republican party which under Roosevelt and other presidents turned the actual con-

trol of this country over to criminal combinations of capital. There is one remedy for existing conditions.

That remedy lies in the election of Woodrow Wilson, a man of honor and honesty; a man not in open nor in secret political alliance with criminal trusts; a man absolutely free from entangling associations and one whose platform is reared upon the strong foundation of true democracy and genuine progressiveness. I know that on Tuesday next the voters of Maine will send such a message to other states as will aid inestimably in the conflict now in progress against the interests which, for the time being, are divided into hostile camps, but which are not divided in their purpose to retain at all hazards a control of government that was given to them by the Republican party and would still be retained by them should either faction win the victory in November.

THE WINNING TEAM.

RECEPTION TO RED SOX, OCTOBER 17, 1912.

This demonstration is the greatest I have ever witnessed in Faneuil Hall. It shows what people think of those who fight for Boston and win. Your fame is not Boston's alone. In every part of the United States you are heroes and this same tumultuous greeting would be extended to you from Maine to California.

It is not my purpose to pick out individual players for praise. It seems that every man, at one time or another, showed himself worthy of membership in the championship team. But to you, Manager Stahl, speaking for the people of Boston, I extend the congratulations of the city. I hope all of your team will long remember the pride that Boston takes and has shown to-day in their success.

The series ended as all the friends of this great national sport wished it to end, with the best of feeling on both sides, and the best club winning.

STEAMSHIP LINE TO TEXAS.

LETTER TO BANKING HOUSES, OCTOBER 26, 1912.

On October 27, 1910, the Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution favoring the proposed steamship line from Boston to Texas. In a special report, dated November 18, 1910, the manager of its transportation department, D. C. Ives, after a thorough study of the problem, stated that "a direct steamship line between Boston and Texas is essential to our commercial welfare." He added that "if established on a sound financial basis and well managed it will be a safe and reasonably profitable investment." An exhaustive presentation of the case was submitted by Mr. Robert Rantoul, as chairman of a committee of experts sent to Texas for an investigation at first hand.

The reasons for such an extension of our transportation system are so familiar and obvious that a brief summary will suffice to remind you of their importance.

Texas, with its 4,000,000 inhabitants and 265,000 square miles of territory, is an empire rather than a state. It is the North American Argentina, excelling in agricultural and grazing products, such as cotton, wool, and hides, which are the raw materials of the staple industries of New England. Its hinterland embraces the vast and fertile territory of the Southwest from Oklahoma to Southern California. The population is enlightened and progressive. No one questions that the future of this state and its neighbors is as brilliant as that of any section of the Union. Moreover, the agricultural opportunities are so great that they are likely to absorb the energies of the people for decades to come and the state will continue to afford a market for the manufactured products of New England. Already there is a demand for our boots and shoes, dry

goods, bags and bagging, of which over 20,000 tons are consumed annually in the baling of cotton alone, as well as our paper, iron, steel and brass manufactures, chemicals and other commodities.

The distance by water from Boston to Galveston is 2,400 miles. This is equivalent in rate charges to 500 miles by rail, the proportionate cost on long voyages being about one to five in favor of water. St. Louis, which is our chief competitor for the delivery of manufactured goods by rail to Texas, is 850 miles from Galveston and the advantage in distance is all on our side. At present, owing to the lack of a direct line of steamers, the traffic is carried on by way of New York, which has such connection, and even Chicago and the intermediate railway centers. Under these conditions it is naturally far less than it should be, and the freight charges constitute a burden upon the manufacturers at one end and the producers at the other. Here is business already in existence, an estimated tonnage sufficient to justify two sailings a week, with ample cargoes each way, and with opportunities for a stop at Baltimore for increase of freight and coaling at cheaper rates. The committee of investigators, of which Mr. Rantoul was the chairman, found the sentiment in the southwest highly favorable to this enterprise, and the only obstacle thus far has been the failure of the financial forces of Boston to respond to the appeal of men who have shown themselves in this respect possessed of genuine leadership and foresight.

Now that the strength of our commercial position as the nearest point to Europe and the center of a huge population unexcelled in its producing and consuming power has been recognized by one of the greatest steamship lines in the world, it seems timely to suggest that we should bestir ourselves in our own interest. The national government has built the Panama Canal at a cost of \$400,000,000, making possible a water route from Boston to San Francisco. This must inevitably affect the trans-continental rates and stimulate the growth of these two

cities, which may be called the terminal ports of the entire country. Our city already supports steamship lines to Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston and Savannah. A line to Galveston should follow and must follow if we are not to forfeit our chance of capturing a good part of the southwestern market. In establishing such a line we should be merely availing ourselves of our natural advantages as a seaport over the inland cities. Here is something which we can do to prove that the maritime instinct, which gave a great race of merchants to the city in the beginning of the nineteenth century, is still strong among their descendants and successors. With port development in the air and our claim of superior facilities attested by the recent act of the German company, the iron is hot for a ringing blow. It will be a reproach to Boston capital if after all our discussions and resolutions the shares of the Boston to Galveston line, requiring only \$1,000,000, are not eagerly taken up by local financiers.

I earnestly request that you use your influence to circulate a knowledge of this enterprise and to persuade investors of its advantages. A diligent campaign carried on among the banking houses as well as the shipping and manufacturing interests of Boston and New England in general, ought to result in a subscription many times over the amount required, moderate compared with the prospect of gain to this section, and far less than has been sunk in more than one speculative enterprise without a tenth of the merit and substantial backing of this proposition.

THE SENATORSHIP.

SPEECH AT FANEUIL HALL, OCTOBER 26, 1912.

Henry Cabot Lodge, senior Senator from Massachusetts, and boss of the Republican state machine, has not yet condescended to tell the people whom he intends to select as the Republican candidate for the high honor of following his advice and footsteps in Washington. We know, all of us, that three prominent Republicans are already seeking Mr. Lodge's approval, and we are all told this week that should the Republicans control the General Court of 1913 the national council of Republican statesmen, of whom Senator Lodge, Senator Penrose, Senator Smoot, and Senator Warren of Wyoming are members, would undoubtedly decide to compromise the contest in Massachusetts by inducing Senator Crane to succeed himself.

That, as I understand it, is the program already decided upon, but from Senator Lodge comes not a word as to the name and quality of the United States Senator whom he would select for Massachusetts should the voters of Massachusetts permit him to make the selection. He has told us of four Democrats whom he would approve as Democratic candidates before a Republican Legislature, and he has warned us first against the sinister influences which would control a Democratic Senator, and later against "fastening on the state for six years any man to whose name our children and our children's children would wish to close their eyes when they read the history of the times."

I will not deny exact knowledge of the candidate whom Senator Lodge has in mind. His scholarship, his breeding, his ancestry, permit him to attack me only by indirection. But his political upbringing in Massa-

chusetts, his political associations in Washington, and the character of his political methods as the Republican boss of the state, induce him to go up and down the Commonwealth uttering his warning against sinister influences and painting pictures of a dismal future should one particular name be added to the roll of statesmanship on which is now the name of Henry Cabot Lodge, and on which until lately were the dishonored names of his friends and associates in statesmanship, Lorimer and Foraker.

The Democrats of Massachusetts have been willing to do what Mr. Lodge has never been willing to do. They have been willing to submit the choice of senators to the people, but Senator Lodge would not now be senator if the members of his own party or the people could have passed upon his candidacy two years ago. But it was not the purpose of Senator Lodge, and it is not now his purpose to permit the people to make their own decisions.

Senator Lodge has been confident always that he could control any legislature when necessary, and he has always been fearful that he could never control the people.

Methods which have been pursued in this state for years whenever the people have shown a disposition to revolt are being used now. The interests are making their last stand. Weeks, Draper, and their friends, candidates of wealth, have made large contributions, and already there are the unerring signs of an attempt to buy what cannot be obtained in just debate. The public is being told by the subsidized portion of the Press that the Boston machine is endeavoring to control the General Court. It was argued two years ago that the Boston machine, if Mr. Foss should be elected, would control the Governor. To what extent has the Governor been so controlled in his public service? In what way, by so much as a hair's breadth, has he swerved from the path of duty because of the fact that the Boston machine

supported him for nomination and election? This cry is raised solely to divert attention from the fact that the Republican interests are even now flooding the state with money.

In "Scribner's" for November Mr. Lodge tells us that in his four years at college he never studied anything, never had his mind roused to any exertion or to anything resembling active thought, until in his senior year he stumbled into a course in mediæval history. *He has never emerged from that course in mediæval history.* The robber baron is still his highest ideal and his dearest friend. His work at Washington has been for a very few, and they, let us be thankful, are not to name the United States Senator next year.

The political career of Senator Lodge is instructive. To-day he poses, for purposes of his own, as one whose political pathway lies along a higher level than that of the average man and especially that of any Democrat who may be mentioned. Are there any here who remember his efforts to break into Congress as a member of the House? Are there any here who remember the methods employed in his behalf in Charlestown and in Lynn? If sinister methods were not resorted to by him, and with his approval, then it is because the word sinister is not black enough to do justice to the subject.

But it is not necessary to dwell on what Mr. Lodge did to obtain and retain a seat in the National House. Turn to his first campaign for the United States Senate. That would seem to be a proper subject for brief consideration, in view of his tender and almost pathetic solicitude at this time for the standing of that body which has been recently deeply stirred by the rejection of Senator Lodge's companions in high senatorial circles. May I call the attention of the people of Massachusetts to an editorial utterance by "Harper's Weekly" of New York on January 21, 1893, after he had achieved his heart's desire:

He (Lodge) pressed upon the Legislature a gerrymandering scheme from the shamelessness of which even his followers

recoiled; he laid the wires for the election of members of the Legislature favorable to himself; he brought about the holding of a snap caucus, outdoing our own Hills and Murphys. Had he devoted the ability and time and labor he squandered on this miserable business to the earnest study and treatment of public questions and to the establishment of a solid reputation as a statesman, the senatorship would have come to him as a free offering by a state proud of him instead of his running after it like a man who would steal it if he could not get it honestly.

That is not the charge of a Democratic newspaper intent on making political capital. It is the opinion of an independent Republican weekly which compared Lodge with Hill and Murphy and decided that he had outdone them. What was true then has been true ever since, as every impartial, intelligent citizen knows full well. Possessing ability, education and family prestige, he has preferred to sacrifice the interests of the people of the Commonwealth to interests that were not those of the people; he has sneered at every man, Democrat or Republican, who has dared to insist that he shall try to represent the people, and he has split in two the Republican party of Massachusetts because he carried his autocracy in behalf of private interests into all his methods and purposes as a political leader.

I am willing to compare my record with that of Senator Lodge. I have tried to do something for the people of Boston, and I think that I have done something. I have not been afraid to give my time and energy in order that Boston may be made "bigger and better and busier," and even while I have been doing it Mr. Lodge has used that incomparable sneer. If I should be nominated for and elected to the United States Senate I would do what I could for the people of the Commonwealth and their interests. I believe thoroughly in waterway development. What has Senator Lodge ever done, except sneer, when it has been proposed to bring relief to the cities of Springfield and Holyoke on the Connecticut, to Lawrence, Lowell and Haverhill on the Merrimac and Brockton on the Taunton river, from the exactions of

transportation monopoly? The projects of waterway development are feasible and business-like, the government can amply afford to finance them, and from every standpoint except that of the corporate interests which Senator Lodge consistently represents they are eminently desirable.

I will admit that I lacked the opportunities which Senator Lodge had to prepare myself for public service. I was born in a humble section of the city and with an environment that did not make for culture, though it made for ambition. I did not get a college education. What I have been able to do I have been able to do because of my own energy and my own desire to accomplish something. What Senator Lodge has failed to do he has failed to do in spite of all the advantages of fortune. In contact with the people he becomes an aristocrat; in contact with those who represent unworthy interests he becomes their ally, their friend, yea, even their servant.

Senator Lodge should come into the open in his references to "sinister influences." I am not controlled by sinister influences. I have not as my political representative and adviser such a man as J. Otis Wardwell, who for twenty years represented the corporate bribers on Beacon Hill until he became so notorious that he was driven forth. He has never become so notorious as to forfeit the confidence and esteem of Senator Lodge. In Washington, as in Massachusetts, Wardwell has been at the elbow of Senator Lodge, and during the consideration of tariff schedules, affecting the corporations which control the Lodge machine, Wardwell, representing the trusts and the machine, has made his headquarters in the rooms furnished by the government for Senator Lodge. Can Senator Lodge deny this?

Sinister influences? What influence was so close to Senator Lodge that his own private secretary, indicted and convicted of a serious offence in connection with his activities as a cog in the Lodge machine, forfeited his bail and departed hence? His whereabouts are known

to Lodge and other Republican leaders. Have they made efforts to apprehend him and thus uphold the fair fame of the Commonwealth about which, on occasions, Senator Lodge is so deeply concerned? I refer to such subjects with reluctance. But I refer to genuine and very palpable influences which have been close to Senator Lodge ever since he decided to represent the corporations, and to give occasional oratory to the people instead of continual and patriotic service.

To what future of shame will Massachusetts be condemned if it is again to be delivered into such hands? Elsewhere all over the country the people are coming into their own. In New England they are taking charge of their own concerns. Hale of Maine saw the coming of the storm and took to cover. In New Hampshire the people put Bass at the head of their affairs and are still on the road of progress. Aldrich no longer misrepresents Rhode Island. Depew and Platt no longer misrepresent New York. Foraker is gone; Lorimer is gone; everywhere the senators of the people are ousting the senators of the interests. Penrose and Lodge and Smoot remain. Let the people assert their right to choose their own representatives, to the end that "we may have a just government of laws and not of men."

THE TARIFF.

SPEECH, OCTOBER 31, 1912.

President Taft says, and the Republican banners float the sentiment to the wind: "The Constitution must be preserved." It must, but not in alcohol or embalming fluid. Our Constitution must be a living, vital declaration of principles which can and shall be applied to the conditions of 1912.

The central issue of this campaign is the tariff. When President Taft signed the Payne-Aldrich bill he committed the one act that has made his re-election impossible. I shall not discuss the schedules of this tariff, for all of you men of business affairs know how the schedules of that tariff, in protecting the monopolists of this country, control prices and are responsible for the high cost of living. But I shall tell you how the Payne-Aldrich tariff bill was made. It was passed by the House of Representatives under Speaker Cannon. It was passed through a loaded Cannon. Then it went to the Senate.

Aldrich took it under his arm. The finance committee was not organized, and Aldrich organized it. He placed thereon Smoot, of Utah, who represents the Guggenheim smelting interests, and Penrose, of Pennsylvania, who worships at the shrine of the steel trust and burns the midnight Standard Oil. As chairman could be found Aldrich, whose voice has always echoed the steam whistle of the railroads.

This group of patriots took that bill, which had been satisfactory to Joe Cannon, and in forty-eight hours after it had been received in the Senate it was reported back, raising 600 items in the Payne bill from 15 to 300 per cent. The bill was jammed through the Senate without a change and promptly signed by the President of the United States.

That bill was passed by fraud and corruption by men whose oaths run to the treasury of the trusts and not to the patriotism of the people.

In the incipient days of this nation our people voted against unjust taxation as you in Boston, famous for its tea party, know full well. There is no difference in principle between taxation without representation and taxation by fraud. In those early days the people of America won their battles. In 1912 they shall not fail.

It is eminently proper that we should continue the campaign where we left off a week ago, since Mr. Roosevelt is better and urges us to continue a discussion of the issues. Mr. Roosevelt has shifted his ground again. He and his platform both called for regulated and legalized monopoly, but now he says he has been misunderstood and that he is in favor of a law for the regulation of competition.

Mr. Roosevelt has merely adopted another Democratic idea, for Woodrow Wilson had already convinced the American people that his program of regulated competition was the soundest proposition for the business of America.

Mr. Roosevelt says he is at Armageddon with the Lord. I am advised that the correct translation of the scriptural Hebrew of Armageddon means "cliff hills of the robbers." Mr. Roosevelt means that he and his followers are at the foot of these hills to drive out the robbers of privilege. He and his troops have only arrived, the Democratic hosts having been there for nearly sixteen years, carrying on the siege, and many of Mr. Roosevelt's friends, notably Mr. Perkins and Mr. Gary, will be found within the citadel of the trust magnates' stronghold.

The Republican elephant can never climb its rocky heights. The Bull Moose can never reach this elevation. The only safe animal for transportation through these passes to the hills and strongholds of vested privilege is the good old sure-footed Democratic donkey.

When Mr. Roosevelt controlled the Republican convention of 1908, which selected Mr. Taft as its nominee,

Mr. La Follette made several proposals for the Republican platform. No one man ever dominated a convention as Theodore Roosevelt dominated that. La Follette proposed a plank for the publicity of campaign funds; it was beaten by a vote of 880 to 94. La Follette proposed a plank to ascertain the value of railroads. It was beaten by a vote of 917 to 63. La Follette proposed the election of United States Senators by the people, and this convention, controlled by Roosevelt, rejected this plank by a vote of 866 to 114.

Mr. Bryan in the Democratic party and Mr. La Follette in the Republican party are the original Progressives. Both men are opposed to the election of Mr. Roosevelt and President Taft on the ground that neither of these two candidates is a real Progressive. Woodrow Wilson has the silent indorsement of Senator La Follette and the open and vigorous support of Mr. Bryan.

There is no doubt of the result. The light is breaking across the crested hills, and the progressive spirit of a great people will make practically unanimous the election of Woodrow Wilson as the next President of the United States.

SOUTH AMERICAN TRADE.

STATEMENT, APRIL 27, 1913.

The trip of the Boston Chamber of Commerce to South American countries, which begins Thursday, is of the greatest importance to Boston, and I am very glad that I am to have the opportunity to accompany them part of the way. My experience in Europe, when I accompanied the Chamber two years ago, makes me believe that the presence of the mayor of a big city like Boston in foreign countries is of great advantage to Boston, and although I cannot take the whole journey, I think the fact that the Mayor of Boston journeys to Panama, and that his presence is noted there, and spread through the newspapers of the South American world, will add much to the prestige of Boston. I think the opportunity a psychological one to impress Boston's commercial position upon South American countries.

New York has gone ahead fast in the last twenty-five years. Steamships sailing from its docks go into nearly every port in the civilized world; it has reaped much greater advantage than it is entitled to from its natural position. There is no reason for the tremendous difference between the growth of Boston and of New York. Ninety-five per cent of the passenger business of the country is carried by New York; 25,000,000 tons of cargo leave that port, while only 5,000,000 are shipped from Boston. Yet less than 100 years ago Boston was ahead of New York. There is no such tremendous difference among the ports of Europe. There it is a neck and neck race, not \$5,000,000 between the six or seven principal harbors. There should be no more difference in the United States.

Although we are now at a disadvantage in foreign trade relations we can more than make up the loss

entailed by the complacency of our predecessors if the business interests only awake to the opportunity offered by South America. With the opening of the Panama Canal we will have easy access to both coasts of that great continent. There we will find gold, silver, copper, tin and platinum in abundance, the food products we no longer have the space to cultivate, and the raw materials, wool and leather that we need in our manufactures. In return that vast country needs the things we make. They are a wealthy and highly cultivated people; the very best that we can manufacture is what they want. But owing to our lack of enterprise Europe has to some extent pre-empted this market. If we are to make our way there we must use every atom of that commercial intelligence and astuteness which is our present boast and past pride.

Our exports of boots and shoes to South America in 1911 were valued at barely more than a million dollars, — a ridiculously low figure compared with three millions to Cuba and nearly four millions to Europe. We sold Europe more than seventeen millions of agricultural implements in 1911, while we sold but seven millions to South America. According to the bureau of Latin American affairs, conducted by the state department, South America is buying more than six hundred million dollars worth of goods annually from Europe, fully five-sixths of which could well be supplied by the United States. The foreign commerce of South American countries last year amounted to over two billion three hundred thousand dollars, an increase of more than a billion dollars in the last ten years. This shows how these countries are growing. The twenty countries lying south of Rio Grande and Key West, and reaching to Cape Horn, cover an area of nine million square miles, or three times the area of the United States. When it is considered that nearly all of these countries are south of the great east and west routes of travel and trade, we can figure for ourselves, handicapped as they have been,

the trade that will develop in South American countries during the ten years following the opening of the Panama Canal.

It seems to me providential that the Panama Canal is opening at the time that the lowest tariff that this country has witnessed for years goes into operation. What this means for a community like Boston, with the ocean at its feet, is simply impossible to determine. For years the high protective tariff of this country has operated to prevent commercial friendship with the peoples of other countries. Now that we can get their raw products free, iron, coal, lumber, wool, sugar, food products, and things essential for our manufacturing and living conditions, and can send to them boots and shoes, clothing, automobiles, manufactures of iron and steel, as well as cottons and woollens and kindred products, it should mean a stimulus both to our trade and theirs. For the past fifty years the manufactures of the country have been built up on the home market idea. Now we are to look for trade, not to the ninety millions of people in this country but to the more than ten hundred millions of people throughout the civilized world. Boston is situated on the ocean and will not be hampered as inland cities will be through the failure of adequate railroad facilities to handle the commerce and business.

This is what the opening of the Panama Canal and the adoption of the Underwood bill means to this city, and the men who are traveling under the direction of the Boston Chamber of Commerce have conferred a great blessing upon this city and are entitled to the thanks of every citizen in the community. The boys and girls who are getting Spanish in our schools, learning the commercial geography and getting commercial ideas into their heads, are going to be the beneficiaries of this great movement. As in the early days "the sea" was the slogan in Massachusetts, so will "the ocean" be the slogan of Boston's business future.

MISAPPREHENSIONS.

AT THE GAMBOLE OF CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
MAY 20, 1913.

FELLOW GAMBOLERS,— There seems to be a misapprehension of some importance in the vicinity of Copley square. Somebody, laboring under a temporary hallucination, has assumed that I am unwilling or unable to speak for the City of Boston.

There are many things, brethren, which we are permitted, and even directed to believe, without calling for legal evidence, but do not at any time, or under any condition, allow yourselves to believe that, as Mayor of Boston, it is my purpose, desire, or willingness to allow somebody else to represent this municipality when I am also present.

As you very well know, I have represented this city at home and abroad for more than five years. I expect to represent this city at home or abroad, as the fates may direct, for some months to come, and whenever you are told that I am not able or willing to represent Mother Boston at any formal or informal gathering to which I may be invited, it will be safe for you to wager your New England railroad stock that it is because of my absence or illness.

Representing, as I do, the City of Boston, and representing, as I have, on occasions the Chamber of Commerce, it is a pleasure for me to-night to bring to the Chamber in its lighter moments the greetings of the city, and with those greetings a heartfelt wish that at all times the Chamber could be as wide-awake, as timely and effective as it is on this exceptional occasion.

Far be it from me, as the Chamber's Mayor, to question its good intentions, or to reduce the chest measurement of those who are permitted to guide the Chamber,

and make reports in behalf of that body which its members first hear about through the Press, but my reputation for unswerving veracity on all occasions compels me to tell you the plain truth at this time concerning a subject of some importance to the Chamber, to South America and myself.

I have been asked why I did not lead the Chamber of Commerce expedition along the whole route of its journey to the tropics, and to-night I will tell you frankly why I did not: I desired the Chamber to receive some attention from potentates and people on its own account. Being, as you very well know, a modest man and mayor, it was an unspeakable sorrow for me during the short time that I was with your brethren to learn that there was not the slightest chance in the world to obtain for them the recognition that was their due as long as I was of their party. I think there may be some of those present here to-night who were present when we first landed under a foreign flag, and who remember the cheers that went up from the assembled multitude: "Three cheers for John F. Fitzgerald, our next President. Three times three for Fitzgerald and his suite."

You see that they meant well. They knew and appreciated me, but they had taken a very small portion of one chamber for a suite.

But the pilgrims became used to that, and before we parted it delighted them as much as it annoyed me to see my lithograph in every window, to see the papers carrying my name at the head of their editorial columns, to hear the school children singing "Sweet Adeline," and to read that the Citizens' Municipal League of Kingston, Jamaica, had recommended that Jamaica proclaim its independence in order to take advantage of the fact that a modern George Washington was on the spot.

I have only pleasant recollections of my trip, in spite of the remarkable efforts put forth by my friends in this city to diminish the zeal and enthusiasm of those who welcomed me. Messages signed, or purporting to be

signed, by "Bottomly, G. G. A.," "Sullivan, Boston Fin. Com.," and "Fee, P. S. A.?" were received by public officials wherever we stopped for an hour or a day. This is a sample:

Is one John F. Fitzgerald in your midst? Beware of him! He is a menace to tropical vegetation and a promoter of discord. Restrain him! On second thought, turn him loose. If you keep him he will be running your country and annexing others within a year. On third thought, don't turn him loose as we want to keep him out of this country long enough to pull off and win an election without his presence. Maroon him.

That was signed "Bottomly," and yet it did not diminish the warmth of my welcome. I received cordial invitations to visit Mexico and had offers of the presidency from at least three great parties. Fearing that if I told any of them that I would accept the nomination I would receive what is known in Mexican Municipal League circles as the "Stephen O'Meara" treatment, I declined to run. But I don't wish you to understand that declining has become chronic in my case.

In the Canal Zone, where they keep in touch with what is going on in Boston, the chief city of the world, I found that my fame had preceded me. One prominent statistician said to me:

"They tell me that you are the most expensive mayor in the United States." "How is that?" I asked. "It's like this," he replied. "You receive ten thousand dollars a year salary; they pay John A. Sullivan five thousand dollars a year; Robert J. Bottomly four thousand dollars a year, and James E. Fee three thousand dollars a year to watch you, as representatives, respectively, of the Finance Commission, the 'Goo Goos' and the P. S. A., that makes the total \$22,000 a year."

"I should think," added my Canal Zone friend, "that it would pay those organizations to keep you down this way or out of the country somewhere and thus save money."

But I explained to him that the men who draw the

salaries are the organizations, and that they would not have me quit because that would mean the loss of their positions and salaries.

However, I suppose that you have heard people tell how nice it would be to run the City of Boston on a business basis,— on the business basis of the big corporations. You have heard it, haven't you? It's a familiar text with the editors when they desire to say something safe without treading on the corns of the railroads or the other supporting interests. That is why I am thinking of asking the Finance Commission to make a special report on the desirability of having the City of Boston conducted as the biggest railroad corporation in New England is conducted, and to award big contracts as contracts are awarded by that corporation,— on a business basis. Sometimes I think that I ought to be president of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, and sometimes I think that Mr. Mellen ought to be mayor of the city. Just imagine dear old Boston after a dose of Mellen's food. You all know it would be better to have "Fitz" any time.

I am glad to be with you this evening and to express my appreciation of your activities. If the Chamber of Commerce in big and serious undertakings will put the same enthusiasm and the same directness into its work that you have put into this, the effect upon Boston will be wonderful and it will relieve me of some of my own duties.

May I close with a poetical address which was read to me on the wharf at Kingston by a delighted and appreciative delegation of former citizens of the North End now employed in picking bananas off the trees:

Though Joshua in Bible times
 Performed a first-class feat,
 When he induced the sun to stop,
 You've got the Josh game beat.
 You've issued orders that the sun
 Must travel twice as fast,
 And that is why we say to-day
 That John has Josh outclassed.

EDWARD EVERETT HALE.

SPEECH AT THE MEMORIAL, MAY 22, 1913.

The honorable duty of accepting this statue, erected by the people and dedicated to the loving memory of a distinguished son of Boston, is one which I assume with much pride.

Born almost a century ago, a graduate of our Latin School and of Harvard University, the life of Edward Everett Hale for almost three-quarters of a century largely influenced the history of this city. His sympathies and interests were bounded only by the needs of humanity, but Boston is the city that he loved.

He grew up among family traditions of high public service and to the end he devoted himself, as a lover of mankind, to the uplifting of men and women wherever a cry from the oppressed could be heard.

His ancestors had learned the value of peace from the rough experiences of war; he devoted his great genius to the promotion of the acts of peace with all the determination and consecrated zeal which his forefathers had shown in the struggle for liberty, and from which alone they knew that the reign of peace could come upon earth and endure.

Poet, journalist, historian, preacher of the word, promoter of good will among mankind, comforter of the afflicted, implacable foe to the oppressor, he might indeed say: "I put on righteousness and it clothed me; I was eyes to the blind and feet to the lame; I was a friend to the poor and the cause which I knew not I searched out."

If the cause of humanity was his fate, love of country was his foible. What boy or girl has read "The Man Without a Country," written in the darkest day of the republic, and not burned with patriotic fire, not been

moved to lay down life itself on the altar of country? Can you not hear him proclaiming through that story of Philip Nolan, written in the simple language of the seer, that patriotism is not mere pride in an area of land, but an idea transfigured into an ideal towards which the youth of the land, holding country sacred next after God, constantly moves.

Sirs, there is a singular charm and fitness in these exercises this afternoon. The man whom we here commemorate was remarkable for the number and breadth of his activities, for the many causes which he espoused, but there was no cause that caught his heart and possessed his being more than the great cause of peace, to which he devoted long years and which he abandoned only with life itself. It is the cause of the Master who has declared that He came to bring peace on earth and whose teachings Edward Everett Hale reverently followed according to his own spiritual philosophy.

A short time ago, Mr. President, you made the happy suggestion that instead of erecting fortifications at the entrance to the great waterway that is to connect the two oceans, the statue of Christ should be set up, a suggestion hailed by the nations of the world with joyous acclaim. Is it not singularly fitting that he who made this suggestion should be here this afternoon, when we are gathered together to do honor to one who was devoted to the cause of peace?

Edward Everett Hale knew through his fighting ancestors the inspiration of battle; he was formed in the same heroic mold with Nathan Hale, whose only regret was that he had but one life to lose for his country. But he knew that war for war's sake is sin, and that the end of all human effort should be peace. So wherever and whenever the chance came to use his mighty voice in the cause of peace, he thundered as has no other American of his day and placed on the brow of his beloved country the crown of peace to which "the laurels that Cæsar reaps are weeds."

It scarcely seems that he is dead. Only yesterday

we saw him on the city streets, towering above the mass of men, just as in soul he touched the clouds. Happy his end. He lagged not superfluous.

The city of his love is here united to place this statue among the other silent but eloquent memories which, while keeping alive the glorious past, inspire the future to high enthusiasm and noble deeds. The city accepts this statue with gratitude to those who gave it and with deep affection for him whom it commemorates. It shall remind the generation that knew him of his pure devotion, and teach the generations to come that cities are not ungrateful but that their proudest possessions are the memories of the good and great among their children.

BOSTON COLLEGE.

DEDICATION OF NEW BUILDINGS, JUNE 15, 1913.

RIGHT REVEREND SIR, REVEREND FATHERS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—While I am from my official position the recipient of many invitations which courtesy prompts, I can assure you that I have received none which gives me greater pleasure than that which bade me to these ceremonies attending the dedication of the first of a great group of buildings to mark the second founding of Boston College. Yes, it is Boston College and it ever will be. True, the institution has removed to the fringe of another city, but neither Boston nor Boston College will ever forget that the city which I have the honor to represent is the cradle in which the college was rocked and furnished the educational atmosphere which has nurtured it for now a full half century. So, while I congratulate the Garden City of the Commonwealth upon this precious new possession, I warn the honored mayor of Newton that his city but shares the honor with her who gave it birth and reared it, receiving in return a rich contribution to its citizenship that justifies the truth of the fine utterance of O'Reilly that "Boston is a living university in the streets." Yes, sir, it will ever remain Boston College, and while a graduate of this honored institution lives he will defend the claim of Boston and have the claim allowed.

I have often thought of the small beginnings of Boston College. I know her history well. I was a pupil there in 1879 and left only because failing health compelled me to do so. And when I think how it has outgrown its narrow limits and demanded expansion, I wonder if the pious souls who founded it in 1863 thought for a moment of the tremendous task upon which

they were entering and could even have dreamed that in the short space of a half century it could reach the proportions in which we glory to-day. When I think of the sainted Bapst, the apostolic McElroy, and the scholarly Fulton, all of honored memory, I wonder if, even in vision, they could have foreseen the consummation in which we delight and which is a matter of pride not only to the college and her sturdy alumni but to the city which I have the honor to represent, and that other city which claims partnership with us, now for the first time, in an institution that has been a nursery of the priesthood of the archdiocese of Boston, the alma mater of the good bishop whose kindly presence cheers us to-day, and which has upon her honored roll the name of a prince of the church, now happily administering the affairs of this most successful metropolitan See.

When as a boy I used to pass the rectory of the Church of the Immaculate Conception, my attention was arrested by the legend on the lintel over the doorway, "*Religioni et Bonis Artibus*," and as I passed the same place the other day and saw the motto still facing me, I asked myself if this was not a complete summary of education. What is education? Who will gainsay me when I define it as the cultivation and improvement of the spiritual principle in man. It is more to be sure, but this is the important factor. I said it is more. It is the harmonious development of man in a threefold manner — athletically, esthetically and ethically — and to these three factors this institution has contributed in so large a measure that I am sure there is no one not blinded by prejudice who will not say that she has done her work well.

The college has always taken the right view of education. It early put itself in harmony with the time spirit. It realized that while the humanities should keep their wonted place of honor, this was a commercial age and institutions of learning, if they are to do their full duty from generation to generation, must study the

conditions of the particular time and arrange their courses of study accordingly. The college saw, too, the necessity of unity in the plan of education. It realized that the college could not stand alone, but that it depended largely upon the tone and character of the work of the preparatory school, and hence the organization of a Boston College High School, wherein provision is made for the vocational training which is so necessary for institutions of learning to insist upon unless we are content to send our children out into the world with no particular end in view and with the word "drift" in too many cases written over their lives.

I have spoken of the beginnings of this college. Why, I remember distinctly the hope and prayer of Father Fulton that the college might have at some time two hundred pupils. It now numbers more than twelve hundred. I have expressed wonder at the boldness of the pioneers who conceived this great work, and I have marveled to see this day when we fondly ponder the result, not of princely donations but of pious poverty. I naturally look back over the history of education in New England and contemplating the careers of what were at one time called the twin sisters, Harvard and Yale, I am reminded that the beginnings of Harvard were a small library and an earnest hundred pounds bequeathed by a clergyman, and that the great university of Connecticut owes its origin to ten worthy fathers who assembled in Banford in 1700, and laying each a few volumes upon the table said, "I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony" — and these two universities were born in a wilderness. What inspiration you must get from the history of these two institutions; what encouragement when you think that the founders of Boston College knelt in prayer and dedicated this institution *ad majorem Dei gloriam* — to the greater glory of God. How could they fail? "God and one are a majority" said Wendell Phillips, and we

know and we hold it to be an axiom that religion is the great and solid foundation of a prosperous state, and that

The thirst that from the soul doth rise
Demands a drink divine.

But shall I bring my greetings to you only because of your splendid past? Must I in the proud contemplation in which I am indulging over the work already done forget the present? Certainly not. I congratulate Father Gasson, the president of this college, upon the boldness of his conception and the wonderful achievement which he has scored in the face of many difficulties. I charge him not to falter now, but to go on with his work until the vision of a group of magnificent buildings with "storied windows richly dight" be completed and a great institution of learning takes its seat on University Heights, to be a blessing to the community in which we live. I hail Father Gasson as the second founder of Boston College, the man who dared, who saw the future in the instant, who has happily brought to naught the predictions of those who, though interested in his work, felt that it was too ambitiously planned. No, it was not too ambitiously planned. The need of such an institution appealed to him with such compelling force that he had naught in conscience to do but undertake it and carry it through. When some one said to him "It is impossible," he answered like another Cobden, "Then there is all the more reason why we should get at it at once." May his successors be worthy of him and the good great men who have presided over this institution in the past; may it never forget its dedication to religion and the liberal arts; may it always carry on its work beneath

The great ensign of Messiah,
Aloft by angels borne, their sign in Heaven;

may it ever be said of those who come out from these halls that they are "Learned without pride, and not too wise to pray"; may they recall that it was not intelligence that Mephistopheles lacked but goodness, and may they never forget that Boston College is an institution like unto the temple of virtue which Marcellus erected at Rome, through which alone lay the path to the temple of honor.

I say to the generations that are to throng these halls, "Emancipated from the past you are responsible only for the present and the future, but, thank God, you need not blush for your cradle," and as this institution takes its place like a "city set upon a hill," may it look down in benediction upon the beloved city from which it takes its name, and from whose atmosphere it has derived much wholesome nutriment, and may both go down the ages contributing each to the other the best that is in her for the good of the city, the state, the nation and our common humanity.

METROPOLITAN PLANNING.

AT FIRST CITY AND TOWN PLANNING CONFERENCE,
STATE HOUSE, NOVEMBER 18, 1913.

I am particularly glad to welcome this convention to Boston. It marks the beginning of that cooperation among the cities and town of the Commonwealth which is so important for our common good. It testifies to the fact that in many things our union in interest is stronger than the separation maintained by distance and local governments, for we are not here merely to gain wisdom one from the other, but in some sort to make a common plan to secure the finest possible communities for the State of Massachusetts.

As far as the planning of Boston is concerned, I feel that the other cities have a right to give something more than advice. We realize that our hotels and theaters and big stores depend on the communities outside our political limits, growing with their growth and prospering with their prosperity. Furthermore, as a shipping port and as a market we are closely related to all your fortunes, both good and bad. It is therefore with something more than dispassionate interest that the representatives of Boston will listen to your discussions.

But if all the cities of the Commonwealth are bound in some sort to Boston, what shall we say of the forty communities physically united to her? It is a curious fact that for Boston alone of all the cities of the world there should be actually more people, within a radius of ten miles, outside the city limits than inside. It is ridiculous that these forty separate units, making up the million and a half people of greater Boston, cannot get together on all matters of serious importance.

We have a Metropolitan Park Commission and a metropolitan water supply, but we should also have

closer relations with the fire and police service of the Metropolitan district. If we cannot protect Chelsea, we cannot protect East Boston; if we cannot protect Somerville, it is useless to elaborate our schemes for Charlestown. We are an immense industrial and commercial community, visibly one in physical continuity and in many common needs. I do not advocate political union with Boston, but I do advocate some form of loose federation among these cities and towns already so closely bound, if they would only recognize it, by intimate economic ties.

There is a distinguished precedent for this federation. Metropolitan London has a much less tangible organization; only the drainage, police and water departments cover the whole area of 700 square miles, including London city, London county and much more; yet London gets universal credit for 7,530,000 people.

A plan for a federation of this sort was rejected not because of any political opposition but through the hostility of the suburban places, Newton being the leader, which claimed to have all the intelligence and most of the virtue abiding in the neighborhood. Whether they feared that it might lead to closer political union with Boston or not I cannot say, but I submit that their attitude shows very little enlightenment. The plan outlined was too broad and farsighted for a group of men accustomed to deal with problems that are purely local in their character and affecting only small populations. That is the difficulty you will have to meet in endeavoring to bring about a more enlightened form of city planning. You must first get out the blackboard and give a few primary lessons and in this way inculcate the Metropolitan spirit as against the parochial attitude which now prevails; yet some union must come soon. I believe it to be a necessary preliminary to any effective city planning in Boston. We cannot even secure that most rudimentary of city plans—the circumferential thoroughfares—when any such proposed thoroughfare runs in and out of the jagged fringe of political Boston

like a weaver's shuttle in a Jacquard pattern. Much less can we hope to attack with any prospect of success the question of housing reform.

The various indirect ways of attacking the slums through taxes on unimproved land and through legal restriction may some day be within the power of the City of Boston. But would it seem quite fair to lay a burden on the real estate men five miles from the State House in one direction and leave those a mile away in another, under perfectly similar conditions, entirely free? There are sections outside the city limits having all the characteristics of the city slums which any regulation in Boston proper would only tend to aggravate. If we are to reform the slums, Metropolitan Boston must conspire to do it; sectional attack will only aggravate and confuse the issue.

How much more true is this of an attempt to solve the problem through the development of suburban sections. To the north of Boston there are no suburbs within the city limits; Somerville, Everett, Malden, Medford, Arlington, are separate towns, yet I venture to say half of the people of Boston and most of the people outside of the Metropolitan district regard them as a part of the city life. Indeed, if you meet a citizen of any of these towns abroad you will always find that they claim to come from Boston; the same is true even of our aristocratic sister, Brookline, for, charming as Brookline is, it is unknown in Berlin, except perhaps as a suburb of the great city which so nearly surrounds it. These are towns to which the people of Boston return at night. How can we of political Boston attempt to secure "garden suburbs" in districts which in spite of that fact hold themselves alien? We have a very interesting suburb in West Roxbury, in which homes of beauty, even of distinction, are given to the people at the lowest price profitable to the investor. But that district contains most of the undeveloped land within the city limits. It is not enough, not nearly enough, for our people; if we are to develop the new sections of

Metropolitan Boston attractively and economically, we must attack the problem together.

Especially is this true of the "pest of three-deckers" now spreading over all the suburban sections. Dorchester, twenty years ago picturesque and beautiful, with old houses and wide shady streets, is to-day overrun with these shabby, unkept substitutes for homes. This type of building answers the demand for cheap construction and consequent low rent. But it is a danger and a disgrace to the community which tolerates it. Yet how can the three-flatters be eliminated in East Boston and allowed in Chelsea, forbidden in Dorchester and welcomed in Somerville and Medford? If we are to get rid of it — and surely this is the most elementary of reforms — Metropolitan Boston must unite for the effort.

Some solution of the housing problem is vital to real Boston. If we set to work at it forty different groups in forty different ways, the best intentions in the world will not pull us out with anything but confusion and cross purposes. But if this convention is, as I hope, the beginning of a recognition of the common needs and purposes of the cities of the state, and the beginning of some form of federation for the cities and towns already closely united in interest, there is no good hope that I would not be sanguiné enough to entertain.

THANKSGIVING.

STATEMENT, NOVEMBER 27, 1913.

An ancient tradition bids us follow the example of those early settlers who once more garnering a sufficient harvest set apart a day to thank the great Power which had led them out of famine. To-day we are gathering greater harvests, the fruits of their suffering and stern self-sacrifice. On the site of their terror-haunted forests and meager corn fields we have built our cities and our farms, and where they walked in daily dread of a fearful death we have built secure and happy homes. It is right that we, too, should now consider our benefits and thank the Power which has led us out of those days of fear to these of prosperity and safety, and it is a happy custom which yearly reminds us of our debt to those who hewed the way for us and to Him who eternally guides our several lives as well as the destiny of nations.

GOVERNOR GENERAL FORBES.

AT CITY CLUB BANQUET, DECEMBER 2, 1913.

It is a particular pleasure to welcome Governor General W. Cameron Forbes. For a great many years I have lauded just those virtues which distinguish him among the leaders of men. We do not credit him with genius, though perhaps that also is his due, but we do bow to his superiority over common men in kindness, perseverance, ability to work hard all day and every day, and in his infinite capacity for taking pains. These are qualities which, in combination at least, are more rare and more valuable than genius itself.

I hope that the return of this man to Boston will stir in the young people here some realization of the inherent greatness of just these qualities. By them, in this man and in his predecessor, a country has been transformed; a turbulent people made over into a people orderly in the beginning of self-government; a hungry population taught how to make two crops grow where one grew before; a miserable humanity, scourged with disease, suddenly lifted up to the benefits of health. Genius can lay waste a country, can burn homes and wake desolation, but it takes something more than genius to put together these embittered fragments and out of them build a nation.

I can say with Sydney Smith: "The vigor I love consists in finding out wherein subjects are aggrieved, in relieving them, in studying the genius and temper of a people, in consulting their prejudices, in selecting the proper persons to lead and manage them, in the laborious, watchful and difficult task of increasing public happiness by allaying each particular discontent." And this is the vigor with which General Forbes has governed the Philippines.

It is unfortunate that even this enlightened government could not escape attack, but it comforts me to have such distinguished companionship in supporting the comment of political enemies and a biased Press. General Forbes is happily able to regard calumny with indifference. His record of distinguished service abroad and his life here in his youth combine to make his position impregnable.

My quarrel with certain Boston newspapers is not concerned with their attitude toward any one person. It is with a settled policy that has sown dissension where none should exist. For a great many years the City of Boston has been divided against itself—Ward 11 and Ward 13, Ward 6 and Ward 23, regarding each other with mutual distrust. Recently there has been a gradual change in the temper of the people. The City Club and the Chamber of Commerce, two of the most powerful organizations in the city, as well as other agencies, have ignored ward, race and class lines in their endeavor to help Boston on toward its great victory. This movement has not secured the cooperation of the so-called conservative newspapers, which fan the flame of race and class antagonism whenever an opportunity offers. Practically the only time one of these newspapers ever commended the action of a Democrat of a certain type was when it praised Congressman Murray for his defence of our present guest, General Forbes, against the attack of his enemies on the floor of Congress.

This offence of certain newspapers would be less serious if the City of Boston were less important. But when we consider her past, her powerful influence over the history of this country, her achievements in literature and in art, it is difficult to understand them. Moreover, such disloyalty does not end with the false impression it creates. The future of Boston is not that certain prosperity that we so fondly imagine. It depends on our union, on the strength we can muster to combat inertia within and rivalry without. The cities that grow in power and beauty have always been those where a common devotion has inspired the whole population.

This is the spirit we need. There is no question that Boston can be a city first in every great line of human endeavor. Like the Florence of the free cities, we should combine a revival of commerce and of the arts. Here, if anywhere in this country, literary tradition has been continuous, and here, if anywhere, with this new influx of life, we should look for the long awaited American Dante. Painting, music and sculpture are fields in which the American spirit has still to find its perfectly adequate expression. We know that the material and the spiritual are closely interrelated, and if we want to see this revival of the arts we must encourage a complete awakening in every phase of human activity. No true son of Boston can sit back in cynical indifference at this time.

The achievements of General Forbes in the Philippines showed that he was a man who could be invaluable here. Out there he developed commerce through building roads and protecting shipping, and through encouraging the development of industrial education. He protected the sugar growers from a combination of sugar buyers, and secured legislation for irrigation and artesian wells. In these and in innumerable other ways he showed that he had at heart the development of that country.

If he will take an active interest in the commercial development of his native city it will help us greatly in our present task of welding it into a powerful and prosperous whole. His grandfather, with Russell and Perkins, was one of the controlling factors in our eastern trade up to 1840. His uncle, Robert M. Forbes, was in command of the vessels bearing relief to Ireland in 1847. We ask General Forbes now to follow up his distinguished service abroad by helping to put Boston again where it was when his grandfather and uncle were important factors in its commercial prosperity — first among the cities of the United States.

